

THEATRE FOR TUDOR ENGLAND

An Investigation of the Ideas of Englishness and
Foreignness in English Drama c.1485 - c.1592,
with Particular Reference to the Interludes

by

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For Merize and Nenem, mothers.

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SYNOPSIS

The subject of this thesis is the drama performed in England from about 1425 to about 1592. The main concern is with the various ways in which the ideas of Englishness and foreignness are dealt with by the dramatists. This has been discussed in the interludes from within four contexts: themes and plots, setting, characterization, and language. A chapter has been devoted to each of these facets of the drama; and a final chapter evaluates the treatment of English and foreign elements from the same premisses in the emerging Elizabethan drama. An overall intention of the thesis is to stress that these plays are texts to be realized in performance. The underlying principle is that Tudor drama, and in particular the interludes, are greatly indebted to the tradition of popular theatre.

This thesis contains approximately 100,000 words.

PREFATORY NOTE

In order to profit by the efforts of modern textual scholarship, whenever possible, the most recent editions of the plays dealt with in this thesis have been used. Where quotations have been transcribed from old spelling editions the original spelling has been retained but the long 'f', 'i' and 'j', 'u' and 'v', the thorn, the yogh, nunnation marks and ampersands have been normalized. Also the old spelling of titles of plays has been modernized. The editions from which plays are quoted are cited in section I of the bibliography and are not, therefore, separately footnoted.

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'For we do not ask that a play communicate for ever; we do ask that a play communicate in its own time, through its own medium, for its own community'.

(J. L. Styan, Drama, Stage, and Audience, p.1)

'The real nature of these two interludes, /Enough Is as Good as a Feast and Liberality and Prodigality7, and of all others, can be brought out only by considering them as plays written for actors to perform and audiences to watch'.

(T. W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude, p.118)

'The popular theatre, freed of unity of style, actually speaks a very sophisticated and stylish language: a popular audience has no difficulty in accepting inconsistencies of accent and dress, or in darting between mimic and dialogue, realism and suggestion'.

(Peter Brook, The Empty Space, p.67)

INTRODUCTION

Now, I pray all the yeomanry that is here,
To sing with us a merry cheer:

(Nought in Mankind)

My good Lord Cardinalles players, I thanke them for it,
play us a play, to lengthen out your welcome,
/my good Lord Maior, and all my other freends. 7
They say it is the mariage of wit and wisdom,
A theame of some importe, how ere it proove:
but if Arte faile, wee le inche it out with loove.

(More in The Book of Sir Thomas More)

During the first three quarters of the sixteenth century, the type of drama known as 'interludes' was carried all over England, being performed before all sorts of Tudor audiences from yeomen to noblemen, as suggested by the epigraphs to this introduction. After 1576,¹ their existence was threatened by the establishment of the first professional theatres in London. Though competing with the new mode of drama for some time, the interludes finally disappeared before the century was over. Thanks to them, however, Tudor England could develop its inherited taste for the theatre; moreover, the popular dramatic tradition was perpetuated, adapting itself to its constantly changing environment, and paving the way for the Elizabethan drama.

Yet, until very recently, criticism, owing to its long-established emphasis on the literary qualities of drama, and its consequent distaste for popular forms, has largely ignored the importance of the interludes. They have been considered artistically insignificant, and treated only as a connecting link between two great theatrical traditions. This critical bias is being gradually corrected by the work of such scholars as T.W. Craik, Glynne Wickham, Bernard Spivack, David Bevington, and Robert Weimann, who have approached the interludes as an independent dramatic form in its own right, while, at the

same time, pointing out their contribution to the subsequent drama.

The present thesis is greatly indebted to these scholars. Having had my attention drawn to the native elements of the interludes, I set out to investigate the extent to which the idea of 'Englishness' - and its opposite, 'foreignness'² - contributed to their composition and their effectiveness as a theatrical form. This study is both descriptive and analytical: it indicates the ways in which English and foreign components are interwoven into the fabric of the drama, and also suggests how their presence, absence, or coexistence may add to and detract from the significance of the plays.

It is my contention that what characterizes the interludes in relation to the universality of the medieval drama and the foreignness of the early Elizabethan tradition is their Englishness. Whereas the mystery cycles, in spite of their popular basis and appeal, derive from a theatrical tradition embracing Christendom, and the early Elizabethan drama shows the influence of cosmopolitanism in its content and form, the interludes are, above all, the theatre of and for Tudor England: more than any other kind of dramatic entertainment they incorporated the native tradition of the theatre,³ and more than any other type of drama it was totally committed to England and things English.

Englishness is not used here in the sense of patriotism or nationalism,⁴ nor is it defined by a set of formal characteristics. By Englishness is meant an underlying involvement with England both as a subject and as an object of the drama, which affects not only the choice of the themes but also the selection of the theatrical

modes and dramaturgic techniques through which these themes are expressed. Thus, Englishness refers to the nativeness of the content and form of the interludes as well as to their applicability to contemporary audiences. The idea of the Englishness of the interludes may be immediately supported by the fact that the word 'interlude' itself 'seems to have been almost exclusively restricted to England'.⁵ In discussing this concept of Englishness I shall try to indicate how the subject matter of this drama reflects the playwrights' awareness of the current religious, social, and political problems of their country; and also, how the devices of the plot, the handling of characterization, and the uses of language within the framework of mainly English settings are rooted in the native dramatic tradition.

The idea of foreignness is, in most interludes, ancillary to the concept of Englishness. This can be attested by the care of interlude-writers to give local application to foreign stories, their method of oblique characterization which puts Englishmen on the stage as 'foreigners', and their manipulation of alien settings as a device to comment on the native scene. Even certain aspects of the use of foreign languages are subservient to the overall Englishness of the interludes. Foreignness, for its own sake, is rare, and only to be developed in the Elizabethan drama. The concept of foreignness is here used to include the Scots and the Welsh. The former were really foreigners to Englishmen, since Scotland was an independent country in the sixteenth century. As far as the latter are concerned, though Wales had been united with England since 1277, the fact that they possessed a language of their own, and well-defined national characteristics, may have contributed to their being still regarded as aliens by Tudor Englishmen.⁶

The focus of this investigation is on the ideas of Englishness and foreignness present in the themes, setting, characterization, and language of the interludes. The justification for such a treatment lies in the possibilities provided by the topic, which seemed to be better explored if dealt with separately in each constituent of the dramatic form. Only structure has been left out: its nativeness having been established by David Bevington,⁷ there is no further point to be developed as far as the subject of this thesis is concerned. This division has been adopted at the expense of the integrity of the plays as indivisible wholes, but it is a necessary, and (it is hoped), convenient device not only in the interests of depth and completeness, but also to facilitate the organization and presentation of a large body of material, though it unfortunately makes a few repetitions and cross-references unavoidable.

Though thematicism has been under attack by modern critics like Richard Levin,⁸ a brief explanation suffices to justify its presence in this thesis. First, it is not the only way in which the plays will be investigated; secondly, as Levin himself recognizes, the interludes not only allow but call for a thematic approach.⁹ As will be suggested in Chapter I, an investigation of the recurrent themes of the interludes and their treatment shows the dramatists' concern with the moral, social and political welfare of the Commonwealth as well as their eagerness to convey this concern to their contemporary audiences. This dissertation is also an attempt to cover ground hitherto little regarded by criticism. An area which has been rather inadequately treated by critics has been the dramatic use of setting in general. The staging of the interludes and its physical requirements have been thoroughly dealt with by such scholars as

T.W. Craik and Richard Southern.¹⁰ Yet, setting in the sense of the fictive place of the action, and its function in the overall dramatic meaning of the play, has been hardly touched upon.¹¹ In connection with the treatment of setting, it must also be said that, although anachronism has already been treated in relation to medieval and Shakespearean dramas,¹² treatment of it is absent from theories of drama in general, and from the criticism of the interludes in particular. In Chapter II I try, therefore, to describe and analyse the contribution of the dramatic function of anachronism to the Englishness of the settings of the interludes. The use of anachronism is also discussed in Chapter III, devoted to characterization, since the anachronism of costume is one of the means employed by playwrights to anglicize non-English characters. It is also the aim of this chapter to survey the vast gallery of English social types and the few foreign stereotypes presented by the interludes. The study of the language of these plays in chapter IV and of its dramatic uses, aims at suggesting that it is mainly responsible not only for the manipulation of the audience but also for the immediacy and applicability of the moral lesson to its members.

In order to illuminate the Englishness and the foreignness of the interludes from another angle, a final chapter, dealing with the four areas mentioned above,¹³ has been dedicated to the discussion of these concepts in the early Elizabethan drama. The 'new' tradition, though carrying on some aspects of the interludes, chiefly differs from them in being far more receptive to the idea of foreignness in both its content and form. The juxtaposition between the two traditions permits, it is hoped, a firmer evaluation of the contributions of English and foreign elements to Tudor drama, and emphasizes the fact - often forgotten - that the waning and the developing dramas were contemporary for some time.

Something ought to be said about the chronological development, and the matter of overall coherence of a group of plays written over a period of more than a century. One of the principles underlying this thesis is to minimize the importance attributed to certain developments in these plays. For what characterizes popular theatre in general, and the interludes in particular, is the tendency towards conservatism in content and form. Though there is no doubt that changes took place in this drama, as will be seen in the course of this investigation, they are less clear-cut, less regular, and less closely related to chronology than some critics would admit. For instance, one cannot speak of a steady process of secularization as far as themes are concerned before the second half of the century because of the circumstances brought about by the Reformation. Neither can one affirm that the cosmic setting yielded to the world or English setting, nor that allegorical characters were gradually transformed into types, since these different kinds of setting co-existed in plays of the same period - and even in the same play - and many personified abstractions were, in fact, types. In view of these arguments, it seems a legitimate tactic to juxtapose plays of sometimes widely different dates. Of course, whenever some obvious modification occurred which is pertinent to the areas focussed on by this thesis, it will be taken into account; and, in order to make clear that the themes and settings treated under several subheadings cover a long period of time, the date of each play will be given.

As the epigraphs to this dissertation suggest, it is its purpose to consider Tudor drama as 'plays written for actors to perform and audiences to watch'. This approach has been very rewarding, since the interludes blossom into life when read as texts for

theatrical presentation. Nevertheless, the many difficulties involved should be examined before claiming its advantages.

Though more and more critics are sharing the view that 'if we apply non-dramatic ideas to a play-text, like as not we will come to non-dramatic conclusions',¹⁴ the dichotomy between drama and theatre still continues, as this pronouncement by Bernard Beckerman well indicates:

The most prevalent notion is that drama is the literary side of theatre; or conversely theatre is the flesh draped upon the soul - drama Our teaching of drama in schools and universities is predicated upon this division. One studies dramatic literature, and one studies theatre, and though there is a growing recognition of the interaction between the two, departmental organization, personal prejudice, and incorrect theory all conspire to reinforce the chasm between the enduring and thereby superior drama and the dazzling but transitory theatre.¹⁵

As a critical consequence, most of the academic studies of drama produce purely literary evaluations and analyses, since they rely entirely on the text of the play as the most important aspect of the theatrical form and as a standard of excellence. Literary scholars cannot be wholly blamed, however: theatre is a very elusive art, partaking of the world of language and the world of spectacle at the same time, and it is no wonder that each side has been stressed to the detriment of the other. Yet, as has been pointed out above, criticism is getting nearer to a more effective methodological approach with which to tackle the complex interrelationship between drama and theatre.

The playscript is still considered the basis of an investigation of theatre - chiefly past theatre; on the other hand, it remains only a part - even if a very important one - of an indivisible whole. Susanne Langer, though mainly concerned with language, has defined

drama in a way which also takes into consideration its theatrical aspect. She writes: 'drama is neither dance nor literature, nor a democracy of various arts functioning together, but is poetry in the mode of action'.¹⁶ Though it may be argued that 'mode of action' cannot account for spectacle in its totality, this is a useful definition since it reminds the student of drama of the dynamic nature of the poetry of the playscript yet to be realized in performance.

Once one accepts the idea that the interaction between drama and theatre has to be acknowledged in criticism, and starts using the words 'drama' and 'theatre' interchangeably with conviction, one encounters another set of difficulties. That is, in order to put into practice these critical criteria it is necessary to combine the reading of a play with the watching of its performance. Thus, though one may be inclined to believe that, although 'most drama has some literary quality, and most dramatic scripts can give literary pleasure when read....the reading of a play is a necessarily incomplete experience',¹⁷ one may fear that this method of interpretation is impossible to handle. For rarely can one read and watch the same play - not only because few of us live near big theatrical centres, which in any case offer only a limited repertory, but also because among a great number of plays of the past surviving for study, only a very few find their way into modern performances.

A partial solution to the problem is the deliberate exercise of the imagination in the creation of 'mental theatre'. Of course this method has its dangers since 'there can be no documentary certainty of detail; and that imagination can be translated, and derogated, as "speculation"'.¹⁸ Yet the dramatic critic has no more reason to be cautious of his imaginative response than the literary

critic if he bases his assumptions on textual evidence. Keeping within the boundaries imposed by the playtext, he has only to remember that 'l'interprétation des comédiens n'est qu'une interprétation parmi mille autres possibles, et notamment parmi les milliers d'interprétations des lecteurs différents'.¹⁹ He should also exploit the one advantage that readers have over spectators: that of being closer to the playwrights' original works in the sense that he reads their words in the same order they arranged them, and unaffected by the interpretation of directors, actors, and designers.²⁰ That the exercising of one's imagination is becoming an acceptable tool of dramatic analysis can be seen in the recent publication of books on 'the art of reading plays'.²¹ Nevertheless, though these guides provide useful hints towards the creation of an ideal performance, one must be aware that they cannot account for that mutually reacting relationship between actors and spectators which influences both the dramatic balance and the meaning of the play. This relationship makes for the perpetually shifting nature of the theatrical experience: whereas one can read the text of a play and it remains the same, its performance is something unique which can never be recaptured.

The difficulties inherent in an approach which attempts to treat plays as theatrical forms, and yet has to rely entirely on the reading of the playscripts, increase or decrease according to circumstances. As far as the Shakespearean canon is concerned, the problems diminish owing to the continuous production of the plays. As far as the interludes and the early Elizabethan drama are concerned, the obstacles multiply. For a student of a past theatrical mode is a reader of the present. In spite of a few successful revivals of interludes,²² they are generally relegated to the repertory of amateur groups, and even so are rarely performed. The same may be

said of the early Elizabethan drama with the notable exception of Marlowe's plays. There are, moreover, practically no detailed accounts of performances of these plays in their own times.²³

The combination of these factors makes any mental reconstitution of the performed Tudor theatre a hard task. Thus, in dealing with plays of any other age, one has to exercise one's historical imagination, and try to place them in their own socio-political context. But this view is incomplete for the interludes, since one is unable to get a glimpse of that stage/audience interaction so important to the performance of plays in general, and interludes in particular. Then, in order to have an insight into the dynamics of past dramatic presentations, one's imaginative efforts must also be applied to another area - the conventions that oriented the drama under consideration. It is here that the student of Tudor drama runs into another series of problems, for the interludes, like other dramatic forms such as the old Attic and Roman comedies, the commedia dell'arte and the modern English pantomime, belong to a much neglected type of theatre commonly and loosely called 'popular theatre'. The task of treating the interludes as such poses many difficulties, and one of them is the fact that this kind of theatre has received very little critical attention.

The literary approach to drama has been detrimental to an understanding of the full range of theatrical expressions of an age, since it has branded as unworthy of attention representatives of non-literary dramatic genres. According to David Mayer, because 'we have been conditioned to accept literary merit as the paramount test of dramatic excellence, we are intimidated into accepting a set of priorities for determining theatrical merit....and in so doing we exclude a vast range of theatrical forms which express the taste and

interest of their period with great fidelity'.²⁴ Thus, there has emerged a distinction between 'theatre' - also known as literary, élite, aesthetic and legitimate theatre - and 'popular or rough theatre'. It is worth remarking, however, that there are instances when the demarcation between 'élite' and 'popular' theatre may become confused and blurred.

The distinction seems to have arisen from a misinterpretation of the terms 'principle' and 'convention' - the two kinds of rules which form the basis of any dramaturgy. Most criticism apparently disregards the fact that 'only principles, the fundamental truths which govern dramatic form, can be given as rules for all time. They are universal and unchanging, based upon an old and respected game of make believe, the one art in which life itself is recreated. Nevertheless, 'conventions, necessary and important to a particular theatre, lose their significance, in another'.²⁵ In treating the conventions of the literary theatre as dramaturgic principles, critics were bound to find fault with the rough theatre, and dismiss it as inartistic. Even without entering into a discussion of theatrical aesthetics, it is feasible to defend the popular drama against those who consistently judge it according to aesthetic intentions it never purposed to hold. Yet it must be recognized that the task of studying popular theatre is not an easy one. Its non-literary nature makes it even more transient than the élite theatre, and, often, whatever remains written for posterity raises more problems than answers questions.²⁶ Furthermore, its diversity of forms makes it an extremely evasive phenomenon which defies any attempt at definition. In order to place the interludes in this category, a survey of some of the ambiguities and complexities attached to the concept of popular theatre may be useful.

Christophe Campos admits the variety of meanings within the term 'popular drama', and proceeds to illustrate these meanings with a description of types of popular forms.²⁷ David Mayer also agrees that it is easier and more profitable to describe the various popular genres than to define the concept: 'a definition must aim at limiting, at fixing boundaries, at excluding apparent irrelevancies, whereas our present experience with popular theatre emphasizes the contrary'.²⁸ It is this inclusiveness of the rough theatre that Peter Brook tries to account for when he says that it 'is usually distinguished by the absence of what is called style. Style needs leisure: putting over something in rough conditions is like a revolution for anything that comes to hand can be turned into a weapon'.²⁹ In spite of the evanescent and complex nature of popular drama, it is possible - relying on the few investigations of the subject - to discover some of the common ground covered by a good deal of popular drama, and the main characteristics which distinguish it from literary drama.

Peter Brook sharpens his definition of popular theatre when he declares that it 'has apparently no style, no conventions, no limitations - in practice it has all three'.³⁰ Style is one of the chief points of divergence between the aesthetic and the popular theatres. Whereas the former strives to control the elements of drama artistically, and give them a coherent unity, in the latter the style is affected by a variety of factors, some of them totally external to dramatic needs. Consequently, it is because the form of the popular theatre is flexible and prone to inclusiveness that it cannot have unity of style. Seen from this angle it is easy to understand why interlude-writers do not hesitate to mix the serious

and the comic, and to have characters of different traditions interacting in the same play. Nevertheless, it is worth emphasizing that popular forms have a style which accommodates any sort of device including literary ones.³¹ What matters is that theatrical effectiveness always takes precedence over aesthetics; this can be illustrated by the fact that the language of the interludes aims at ensuring the audience's participation rather than at achieving poetic excellence.

Yet, in spite of its lack of rigidity, the style of the popular form is limited by conventions. Even in this seemingly shapeless genre there is a tacit agreement among author, actor, and spectator, which governs the composition and the presentation of the plays. Conventions are the other area of difference between the literary and the non-literary dramatic forms, and, as has already been remarked, a main cause of the misunderstanding of the value of popular drama. They will be briefly discussed here since they are essential to the comprehension of the basic nature of the rough theatre in general, and of the interludes in particular.

One may begin with the statement that 'in the popular form certain basic conventions are subjected to constant transgression and redefinition in a way unacceptable in the theatre of the élite, where dramatic as well as social conventions are upheld in a reciprocal ceremony. These conventions are sacredness of place, non-intervention, and the continuity of illusion'.³² In the aesthetic theatre the stage or acting area is given magical properties by its conventions: it is the focus of attention, the place of the performers, physically and psychologically separated from the audience. In the popular drama, however, 'the frontiers between the place and the audience are not stable: whether because actors appear from (or less probably) disappear

amongst the spectators, or because the acting area moves about'.³³ This is easily verified in the interludes, since the Vices often cry for room to reach the stage, and, often, characters join the audience. In the Tudor hall or in similar staging conditions, the boundaries between stage and audience were threatened by the permanent proximity between players and spectators during the presentation of the play. In most cases, the mobility and restlessness of an audience not held by social etiquette must also be accounted for, and it is partly these external factors which influence the style of popular drama. The refusal to accept the idea of the sacredness of the playing place leads to the questioning of another convention of the literary theatre - that of the non-intervention of the audience.

Whereas in the élite theatre most plays tend to be self-contained and to make no overt reference to the presence of the audience, the popular theatre adopts a different attitude, encouraged by the loose demarcation of the acting area and the restive character of its public. Inviting the members of the audience to participate in the play is not only a way of controlling them but also a means of making use of the flexibility of the staging conditions. It must be emphasized that audience participation in the popular theatre goes far beyond involvement with the mind and feelings. Thus, in the interludes, the use of direct address, rhetorical questions, and soliloquies, for example, encourage the participation of the audience both imaginatively and emotionally; but, often, its members are invited to participate more actively either by engaging in ad lib exchanges with the actors and joining them in song, or by bringing in stools and holding coats. For, in this participatory

theatre, the collaboration between performers and spectators is an essential aspect of dramaturgy. From a strictly theatrical point of view, there is in this the danger that the rhythm of performance might be disrupted or even destroyed. The popular drama, however, can adapt its rhythm to the hazards of audience intervention mainly through the talent of its players; furthermore, the performance is never ruined because, again, there are certain underlying requirements that both performers and members of the audience subscribe to. Even a casual reading of the interludes reveals that there are 'dramatic' and 'participatory' structures,³⁴ that is, parts of the action that belong to the performers alone and others which appeal to the audience to join in more actively. Obviously, this discontinuity of the dramatized action prevents sustained illusion.

It has been said that 'from time to time and from place to place the drama varies its position on a scale between the two extremes of absolute conventionalism and absolute naturalism. At either extreme it would cease to be properly dramatic'.³⁵ This means that every dramatic form partakes of both sides of the scale in varying measure. The fact that the popular theatre overtly acknowledges, and takes advantage of, the interaction between illusion and reality was and still is given as proof of its non-aesthetic quality. Such a criticism is the product of that misconception of the relation of the audience to the play which has brought about what Susanne Langer describes as 'the gratuitous and silly problem of the spectator's credulity'.³⁶ Until very recently, few critics - and, for that matter, playwrights - accepted Samuel Johnson's reasoning that 'the spectators are always in their senses and know, from the first act to the last, that the stage is only a stage, and that the players are only players'.³⁷ Thanks to some modern Shakespearean scholars,³⁸

however, the mixture of two opposite but not mutually exclusive theatrical modes has become perfectly acceptable, and the study of drama in general has profited.

It is a feature of most forms of popular theatre, including the interludes, that they rely on non-illusion rather than illusion; or, rather, there is a constant discontinuity of the fictive events on the stage to allow reality to have its share. This discontinuity of the illusory process in the interludes is generally accomplished by the Vice and low-life characters, who break up the dramatic illusion and reach out to the world of the audience. It may be said, however, that the rough theatre does not shun illusion: it only encourages the audience to build and rebuild it rather than sustain it throughout the action. This movement may lead to an extremely effective theatrical balance between 'the enchanting and disenchanting modes of mimesis',³⁹ which, among other functions, helps to vary the mode of the dramatic experience. It is also worth remembering that this continuous break of illusion is intimately related to the two conventions of non-sacredness of place and the participation of the audience already discussed. Now it remains to consider the soundness of examining the interludes in the light of popular drama.

The first claim to the validity of the approach is that the moment one starts to evaluate the interludes on the basis of their own theatrical aims and conventions, their dramatic effectiveness becomes apparent. This is particularly true in the case of the unpoetic and colloquial language of this drama, which turns out to be a valuable asset for the playwrights' immediate purposes - to communicate with their audience.

Furthermore, and this is vital to the concept of this study, the idea of Englishness gains in depth. Although the interludes possess many general traits in common with popular forms of all times and places, these traits, by the very nature of the genre, are adaptable to each particular community in its contemporary socio-political context. Thus, for example, the topicality of the subject matter, the satire of national types, the parody of native social customs, the topographical allusion, the local joke, and so on, are mainly pertinent to the contemporary society which produces this drama. Moreover, with the all-inclusive style that characterizes non-literary dramatic pieces, the interludes carried on traditional dramaturgic techniques, and incorporated folk characters, native games, songs and dances into their action.

This approach also leads to the realization that popular forms, being parochial and conservative, shun the presence of foreign elements. Consequently, if the interludes are viewed in the context of popular drama, the concept of foreignness has to be redefined. This redefinition makes itself necessary not only because the concept of foreignness is mostly translated into terms of Englishness by means of anachronism and topical and topographical allusions, but also because the main conventions of this drama - the non-sacredness of place, the participation of the audience, and the frequent discontinuity of the representational mode - uphold native elements, and can never sustain the idea of foreignness for a long period of time.

Finally, like all popular dramatic genres, the interludes remained close to the people. This closeness was maintained on three levels: in the expression of the problems, dreams, and beliefs

of Tudor society; in the perpetuation and in the development of native forms; and in their contact with the audience. The twofold aspect of this contact must be borne in mind. Firstly, the interludes, as has been mentioned, were performed for the whole population of Tudor England irrespective of social class; the view that holds that there were two separate traditions - the professional and the amateur - will be questioned later. Secondly, because of its essentially participatory nature, they were played not only before but also with the audience. It may therefore be concluded that, because they belonged to a popular genre, the interludes expressed their Englishness not only through their content and form, but also through the width and the intensity of their appeal. Owing to these factors, they could become a national drama in the truest sense of the term.

*

The selection and organization of the material of a thesis which investigates interludes, and devotes its final section to the early phase of the Elizabethan drama, present a number of problems. To begin with, there is the question of nomenclature, and consequently, of genre. The very term 'interlude' has been a matter of great controversy. According to one recent writer, 'a melancholy study could be made of the functional history of such terms as "mystery", "miracle", "moralities" and "interludes"'.⁴⁰ This statement gives some idea of the size of the difficulty. It would be both tedious and unprofitable to list here the divergence of opinions, since no two critics agree entirely on the subject. Nevertheless, to indicate the extent of its complexity it is worth examining the opinions of three major authorities in the field, expressed at different times.

E.K. Chambers, writing about the interludes in 1903, already recognized that 'the primary meaning of the name is a matter of some perplexity'.⁴¹ After noticing that, as far back as the fourteenth century, secular plays - such as the fragmentary Interludium de Clerico et Puella - as well as religious plays bear the name of 'interludes', he concludes by denying the idea that an interludium is a ludus played in the intervals of some kind of celebration, and proposing that it is a 'ludus carried on between (inter) two or more performers; in fact, a ludus in dialogue. The term would then apply primarily to any kind of dramatic performance whatever'.⁴²

Half a century later, Glynne Wickham agreed with the idea that an interlude was a ludus in dialogue, but insisted on the time limit derived from the old interpretation, and rejected by Chambers. He writes:

In so far as we are obliged to translate the word from its original Latin sense into a vernacular one, the Interlude was a play in dialogue presented between, or in pauses between, parts of a whole evening's festivities or revels. The fact that it was a play automatically presumes dialogue between actors. Thus the Interlude differs from the sophisticated mumming, where a speaker introduces disguised mimes and also from the Cyclic dramas (whether developed from the introit or the lectio) where the text in dialogue was so long as to require a full day for performance. Beyond that, however, there was no restriction on the form or the subject matter of the interlude.⁴³

More recently, Richard Southern, dealing with the problem of defining an interlude, admits that it is a 'frankly fantastic question' which has baffled all historians. Though he does not propose to offer a definitive answer, he suggests that,

'Interlude' as a term had once a distinct meaning and one that stuck in people's minds, but it was a meaning which, about the time of the spread of Renaissance fashions to England, gradually lost its distinctness and, under the

influx of the new comedies and tragedies (though these owed much to it technically at the outset) became first a synonym for them, and then a mere survival retained out of a sort of affection for what had once been.⁴⁴

The elasticity of the term proposed by the three scholars above is easily verified. A quick glance at the dramatic material of the Tudor period will show different types of plays all labelled 'interludes' by their authors or printers without any discrimination. Though it is impossible to define them, one may find much common ground shared by most interludes - particularly in their obedience to the conventions of popular drama. The majority of the interludes up to the last quarter of the sixteenth century hold the same overtly didactic purposes, expressed through these conventions, and the purely comic pieces, also rely on the basic dramatic rules of the non-literary theatre. This is also true of the few comic interludes influenced by foreign drama such as John Heywood's The Pardoner and the Friar (1519) and Johan Johan (1520), and others like Ralph Roister Doister (1552), Jack Juggler (1555) and, to a less extent, Gammer Gurton's Needle (1553). They are successfully adapted to English life and manners because the conventions of the interludes and those of French farce and Roman comedy are eminently popular. Besides, there are aspects of characterization and verbal humour which are common traits found in all these three types of rough theatre. As far as what is now called 'classical comedy' is concerned, one must not forget that both Plautus and Terence wrote for mixed audiences: 'dignified senators and unruly populace, harlots and slaves, crying infants and gossiping women - these made up the spectators of Roman Comedy'.⁴⁵ It may also be suggested that, if the main contention of this thesis proves to be correct, then the concept of Englishness may be added to those criteria which tentatively single out the

interludes as a cohesive and autonomous corpus of dramatic material.

Realizing the impossibility of a more rigorous analysis of the distinguishing features of the interludes, T.W. Craik, in his pioneering study of this drama, covers a wide range of plays from The Castle of Perseverance (1405-1425) to The Cobbler's Prophecy (1590), arguing that, in spite of their heterogeneity, it is possible to discern a basic similarity of the physical conditions of performance uniting these plays.⁴⁶ I have followed Craik's guidance, and made use of the list of plays provided at the end of his book, though allowing myself to exploit the flexibility of the term 'interlude'. My additions to Craik's list are six: the fragmentary The Four Cardinal Virtues (1542), Gorboduc (1562), Clyomon and Clamydes (1570), The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune (1582), A Looking-Glass for London and England (1590), and A Knack to Know a Knave (1592); these five last plays have all been called 'moralities' or 'interludes' at some time or another. The reasons for treating Gorboduc as an interlude will be discussed in Chapter I. As for Clyomon and Clamydes and The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune, they were added to join Common Conditions (in Craik's list) as the only extant plays greatly marked by the romantic tradition. Though A Looking-Glass for London and England and A Knack to Know a Knave do not share the same staging conditions as the other interludes since they were written for the public theatres, they are included owing to their strong didactic aims and obvious Englishness. I have only omitted from Craik's list the important Scottish interlude Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis since by its very nature, and because it was neither performed in England in the sixteenth century nor printed before 1602,⁴⁷ it falls outside the scope of this investigation.⁴⁸

The classification of the interludes offers further difficulties. These may be illustrated by Harbage's and Schoenbaum's complicated system of distinguishing these plays not only by several categories but by subcategories as well.⁴⁹ Glynne Wickham divides them more sensibly into three major types: moral, historical and political, and farcical.⁵⁰ The main problem with this division is that after the religious break with Rome it is very difficult to separate the moral interludes from the historical and political ones, since religion and politics become closely intertwined. Thus, though Wickham's basic classification has been adopted here, it has been slightly modified. For the purposes of discussion the interludes will be distinguished according to their predominant areas of concern - moral-religious, socio-political, and farcical-bearing in mind the elasticity of the classification, since these areas of interest are not mutually exclusive, and may coexist, in varying degrees, in any single play.

Another difficulty which has to be coped with from the start centres on the distinction among the interludes between professional and amateur drama. It is true that there existed a great deal of amateur dramatic activity at court and at schools side by side with the activities of the professional players; so much so that it led Chambers to affirm that 'throughout nearly the whole of the sixteenth century, it remained doubtful whether the future of the drama was to rest in professional or amateur hands'.⁵¹ It would then follow that the professional companies would be in charge of the popular drama because of its appeal to a wide audience, whereas the amateur groups would perform literary plays for a select few. Yet, this conclusion is only apparently logical as far as Tudor drama is concerned.

First of all, there is no need to draw a distinction between popular and élite traditions 'if we classify theatrical activities by how they appeal rather than to whom they appeal, by their strategies rather than their spectators'.⁵² And what is remarkable about the interludes presented under amateur auspices is that they kept many important points of contact with the professional drama. Thus, the preoccupation with national issues, the didactic aims, the underlying conventions of non-sacredness of place, audience participation, and discontinuity of illusion, certain aspects of characterization such as the presence of allegorical figures and the type of the Vice, and principal staging techniques, are common to both professional and amateur dramas. It is chiefly because the latter type was possibly performed only for an exclusive audience, and broke new ground from a structural point of view, that David Bevington defends the distinction between professional and amateur drama in From 'Mankind' to Marlowe.⁵³ Some years later he reaffirms his position, continuing to argue for the separateness of these two types of drama, though respecting the views of scholars who see the interludes as a cohesive group and their staging as a single phenomenon.⁵⁴

This thesis adopts the position of those who defend the non-separateness of the two traditions; first of all because Bevington's main claims is often incapable of being sustained. For instance, he cannot convincingly explain the difference between professional and amateur dramas on the basis of internal evidence, and relies on the fact that the latter was - supposedly - written for a limited public. Neither can he account for the presence of John Heywood's The Four PP among the seven plays of the repertory of the 'Lord Cardinalles players' in The Book of Sir Thomas More; ^{- 55} he comes to the conclusion that,

the early Tudor Kings appear to have retained some genial tolerance for broad humor, making it possible for Heywood to appeal to country and court together. Since interluders in noble livery were called upon to please a widely varying audience, Heywood found a means of bridging the gap by employing a native tradition of humor. Four PP has few elements of classical sophistication.⁵⁶

Bevington's struggle to maintain his position in fact justifies the approach adopted in this investigation. The fault with his main argument - the effect of the doubling pattern, a device adopted by the limited travelling troupes to deal with a number of personages, on the structure of the professional drama - is that it leaves out many plays written by authors with affiliations at court and, presumably, intended for an élite audience. Yet, the works of the humanist group (Medwall, Rastell, Heywood and Redford), Skelton and Bale, were also apparently designed for popular touring as Bevington himself accepts.⁵⁷ Consequently, he disregards the important fact that there must have been a great deal of mutual influence between the drama of the professional players and the drama under amateur auspices. Thus, the relationship between such authors as Medwall, Rastell, Heywood, Skelton and Bale, and the professional drama, which Bevington describes as 'complex', is simply one of cross-fertilization. They appropriated aims, conventions and characters of the popular dramatic tradition to put them to the service of more sophisticated themes. And, as Robert Weimann points out, 'it was precisely because they did not ignore the practical experience of the popular theater that the originality of their contribution in its turn promoted the development of a more national theater, one not narrowly limited by the taste and experience of a privileged audience but one considerably more universal in appeal'.⁵⁸

It is also feasible to suppose that the repertory of the professional companies - consisting of plays generally written by anonymous authors with non-literary pretensions - would have profited by the works of writers like Medwall, Heywood, and Skelton. Their plays were usually published,⁵⁹ and, consequently, available; some of these writers wrote for players attached to an aristocratic household and provided models: John Bale, for example, had his own touring troupe.⁶⁰ And also, since the halls of the aristocracy were open to professional actors - some of them also playwrights - they would have the opportunity of participating in or watching amateur drama. Summing up, it may be proposed that the interludes performed at court or under similar auspices, and presumably for a select public, were one type of popular drama which profited by the availability of material and human resources. This means that their authors could rely on a more elaborate costuming as well as props and stage-structures for their settings, and they could also - though not always - dispense with the technique of doubling since they had more actors at their disposal. The existence of this amateur drama was favoured by historical circumstances, for, under what has been called the 'Tudor compromise', with its emphasis on national unity, the frontiers which separated the new court culture from the popular one were still easily crossed. As has been suggested,

as long as the New Monarchy retained its unifying position of pre-eminence and balance in the nation, the various economic and social contradictions could still be effectively contained within the Tudor settlement; and the new secular drama could, even when it responded to audiences that were much more socially varied, move within the mainstream of the popular tradition as the most central and practical constituent of the new distinctly national culture in the theater.⁶¹

A final difficulty inherent in the study of the interludes is the uncertainty concerning the dating of the plays. T.W. Craik's book, first published in 1958, gives us dates based on standard works then available and on his own research. Six years later, Annals of English Drama was published, and its dates are in disagreement with at least one third of those suggested by Craik. The consequences of such divergence may be seen in the interpretation of certain plays. For instance, Louis B. Wright, in a well-known essay on the late interludes, published in 1930, reads The Pedlar's Prophecy in the light of the socio-political problems current in the 1590s.⁶² The date now accepted for this interlude, both by Craik and by Harbage and Schoenbaum, is 1561, which - if correct - invalidates most of Wright's reading of the play. Because of the necessity of relying on some single generally accepted set of dates, I shall normally be using those offered by Annals of English Drama, though I shall try to point out the doubtful cases whenever they might affect the argument.

As the last chapter of this thesis considers the relationship between the tradition of the interludes and the early plays of the main period of the Elizabethan drama, a few words must be said about some of the difficulties encountered in the choice and organization of the material here. Yet, because of the abundance of scholarship in this field, the problems were greatly minimized, and can be briefly stated.

Apart from the borderline cases which make it difficult to distinguish between 'tragedies' and 'histories', the material offered little difficulty concerning its overall nomenclature and genres; also, the list of plays dealt with as interludes automatically solved

the problem of distinguishing those of the contemporary Elizabethan drama. In spite of the well-known fact that there existed an élite drama, dominated by children's companies,⁶³ the view held in this investigation is that the differences between the popular and the élite traditions do not justify a separate treatment - at least as far as the date limits of this study are concerned. Although the classical tradition, influenced the developing drama, affecting its content and form, both the repertories of the public and private theatres can still be set within the framework of the popular tradition. As far as the meagre extant evidence of 'select' drama allows one to judge,⁶⁴ both types of drama, though no longer predominantly didactic, share the same ethical attitudes; only after 1599 is it possible confidently to add the differences between the content of the plays of the public and the private theatre⁶⁵ to the argument for a separate treatment of the two. Before this date, their main source of distinction lies in the physical conditions of the staging of the plays, since the children's troupes performed in the intimate, artificially lit indoor playhouses.⁶⁶

It remains to offer some justification for the inclusion of plays which lie just outside the date limits covered by this investigation. In order to give as full an account as possible of the interludes, I have decided to deal with all extant texts, even those believed to have been written before the Tudor period officially began. These early interludes are: the fragmentary The Pride of Life (late fourteenth century), The Castle of Perseverance (1405-1425), and Mankind (1465-1470). As far as Wisdom is concerned, the fact that it is dated 1450-1500 partially justifies its inclusion in a study of plays of the Tudor period.

The date 1592 has been selected as the final limit of the investigation not only because it is the date of A Knack to Know a Knave, which marks the end of the interlude tradition as a dramatic form, but also because it approximates the date of the end of Marlowe's writing career, which closes the early phase of the Elizabethan drama.

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More than fifty years ago it was said that 'all treatises on the Elizabethan stage must be acknowledged to be imperfect and temporary'.⁶⁷ Most scholars would agree that this still holds true for most aspects of the Elizabethan drama, in spite of the unceasing scholarly work on the subject. Even more imperfect and temporary, therefore, must be a study of the Tudor interludes, (which have not received the privilege of a fraction of the critical attention bestowed on the later Elizabethan drama), particularly when this study adopts a methodological approach which, though trying to emphasize facts, relies on hypotheses as well.

Having in mind the dangers that the imagination can bring to an academic inquiry, I have tried - as far as possible - to keep close to the text, and to provide internal evidence as a basis on which to build both description and analysis. Whenever I have been unable to support what seemed an interesting possibility with direct evidence from the playscript, I have tried to indicate its conjectural nature through the use of such words as 'could', 'might' and 'perhaps'. The inclusion of such conjectures seemed justifiable on the grounds that the raising of possibilities can provoke further investigation in areas which, hitherto, have been little explored. As for the exercising of the imagination, the reasons proposed at the beginning of this introduction must be reinforced. For the more

one studies drama - and, particularly, popular drama - the more one is led to agree with Raymond Williams when he says that the imaginative effort 'may, in particular cases, succeed or fail, but it is a faculty which no living study of the drama can do without'.⁶⁸ Ultimately, to do without it is - borrowing Alan C. Dessen's words - 'to allow that insidious Vice Oversimplification to lead Every scholar away from Lady Truth'.⁶⁹

Notes to the Introduction

1. This date is used for convenience's sake only, and should not be taken rigidly. For the questioning of the accuracy of the emphasis which stage historians have placed upon it, see Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages: 1300 to 1660, 2 vols (London, 1959-1972), II, pt. I, 153-205.
2. Since they will inevitably recur frequently, the terms 'Englishness' and 'foreignness' will hereafter be used without inverted commas.
3. Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (first published, 1958; reprinted, New York and London, 1968), p. 61.
4. The Reformation and the Renaissance together helped to foster the conceptions of patriotism and nationalism in the sixteenth century. . . For the idea that nationalism was still largely confused and inarticulate, see W.A. Coupe, 'The Beginnings of European Nationalism', in The Continental Renaissance: 1500-1600, edited by A.J. Krailsheimer (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 99-110. In spite of a number of incursions into the interludes, mainly the protestant ones, both concepts are, until the middle of the century, better represented in the non-dramatic literature of the time; see John R. Pierce, English Nationalistic Poetry: 1485-1558 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1959).
5. Allardyce Nicoll, English Drama: a Modern Viewpoint (London, 1968), p. 28.
6. G.K. Hunter, 'Elizabethans and Foreigners', Shakespeare Survey, 17 (1964), 37-52 and 245-9 (p. 45), says: 'the more intimately.... strangers are known, the less their strangeness seemed intriguing, the more it seemed despicable. The Irish, the Welsh and the Scots were normally seen as absurd deviations from an English norm'.
7. See From 'Mankind' to Marlowe (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).
8. See 'Some Second Thoughts on Central Themes', Modern Language Review, 67 (1972), 1-10; and 'Thematic Unity and the Homogenization of Character', Modern Language Quarterly, 33 (1972), 23-9.
9. In 'Some Second Thoughts on Central Themes', p. 8, Levin writes: 'there is one kind of play which, although the thematists have been reluctant to embrace it, clearly does call for their approach since it is without question unified by a central theme whose identity is equally unquestionable. It is the morality drama. The theme of each morality is an abstract ethical proposition that is usually announced in the prologue and epilogue and even in the title (Like Will to Like, Enough Is as Good as a Feast, etc.), and is always demonstrated unequivocally in the actions and fates of the characters.... Thus these characters can function directly to enact the theme, which constitutes the organizing principle and the meaning of the play'.
10. The Tudor Interlude (first published in 1958; reprinted, Leicester, 1968), pp. 7-26; and The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare (London, 1973).
11. This holds true even of Shakespeare. Clifford Leech is one of the few scholars who has devoted attention to the dramatic function of setting in Shakespeare's plays. See, for example, 'Ephesus, Troy, Athens: Shakespeare's Use of Locality', in Stratford Papers on Shakespeare 1963

- (Toronto, 1964), pp. 151-69; Twelfth Night and Shakespearian Comedy (Toronto, 1965), pp. 4-7; and 'The Function of Locality in the Plays of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries', in The Elizabethan Theatre I, edited by David Galloway (Ontario, 1969), pp. 103-16.
12. See V.A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford, 1971), pp. 101-23; S.L. Bethell, Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition (London, 1944), pp. 42-61; and Kenneth Muir, 'The Dramatic Function of Anachronism', Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society, 6, pt. 8 (1951), 529-33.
 13. It should be remarked, however, that they are treated in less detail, and that the treatment of themes will inevitably be broader in its categories, taking into consideration the distinction of the several genres.
 14. J.L. Styan, in the preface to the paperback edition of The Dramatic Experience (Cambridge, 1975), p. x.
 15. 'Dramatic Theory and Stage Practice', in Papers in Dramatic Theory and Criticism, presented at the University of Iowa, 1967, edited by David M. Kauf (Iowa, 1969), pp. 24-36 (p. 29).
 16. Feeling and Form (London, 1953), p. 322.
 17. Stanley Wells, Literature and Drama (London, 1970), p. ix.
 18. Raymond Williams, Drama in Performance, revised and extended edition (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 5.
 19. Pierre-Aimé Touchard, Dionysos suivi de L'Amateur de théâtre (Paris, 1968), p. 107.
 20. Ronald Hayman, How to Read a Play (London, 1977), p. 81.
 21. For example, Touchard, Styan, and Hayman.
 22. For the successful revival of Everyman in the twentieth century see Robert Potter, The English Morality Play (London and Boston, 1975), pp. 222-5; for Bernard Shaw's praise of Barry Jackson's production of Hickscorner in the Malvern Festival, 1933, see Shaw on Theatre, edited by E.J. West (first published, 1958; reprinted, New York, 1967), p. 227. The enthusiasm with which Mankind was received in Toronto in 1966 is recorded by Paula Neuss, 'Active and Idle Language: Dramatic Images in Mankind', in Medieval Drama, edited by Malcolm Bradbury and David Palmer, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, 16 (London, 1973), pp. 41-67 (p. 42). The great success of the interludes produced in Bristol in 1964 is recounted by Glynne Wickham, Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage (London, 1969), pp. 36-40. Efforts to read the professional critics' opinion of the Bristol productions failed entirely: both the Drama Department of the University of Bristol and the local newspaper Evening Post no longer possess copies of the reviews. Bamber Gascoigne's short account in The Observer Weekend Review, 10 May 1964, states that he finds 'these primitive curiosities perpetually fascinating', but unfortunately does not tell us why. To this list could also be added some radio productions of the interludes in The First Stage: a Chronicle of Developments of English Drama from Its Beginnings to the 1580s, broadcast in thirteen parts from November 18th, 1956 by the

British Broadcasting Corporation, written and narrated by John Barton, produced by Raymond Raikes (London, The British Institute of Recorded Sound, 1979), programmes VI-X.

23. As far as the interludes are concerned, one of the rare eye-witness accounts which have survived is that of the performance of The Cradle of Security in the 1560s or early 1570s, by R.W. /Willis/, Mount Tabor. Or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner (London, 1639), pp. 110-13, in the passage entitled 'Upon a stage-play which I saw when I was a child'. The uniqueness of the account may be judged by the number of times stage historians, critics, and editors quote it. For example, the whole passage is found in J.P. Collier, The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration, 3 vols (1831), II, 274-5; in Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe, pp. 13-14; in F.P. Wilson, The English Drama: 1485-1585, edited with a bibliography by G.K. Hunter (Oxford, 1969), pp. 76-7; and in Edgar T. Schell's and J.D. Shuchter's introduction to English Morality Plays and Moral Interludes (New York, 1969), pp. v-vi. Parts of it are quoted by Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, pp. 61-2; Potter, The English Morality Play, p. 68, and Jocelyn Powell, 'Marlowe's Spectacle', Tulane Drama Review, 8 (1964), 195-210 (p. 196).
24. 'Towards a Definition of Popular Theatre', in Western Popular Theatre, edited by David Mayer and Kenneth Richards (London, 1977), pp. 257-77 (p. 259).
25. Mary Crapo Hyde, Playwriting for Elizabethans (New York, 1949), pp. 4-5.
26. For example, K.M. Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, 2 vols (1934) I, 3, says that the commedia dell'arte will not keep still within the bounds of a definition. To stickle for improvisation as the distinguishing feature leads to the exclusion of a group of printed plays which undoubtedly belongs to its tradition'.
27. 'Seven Types of Popular Theatre', Theatre Quarterly, 6 (1976), 3-10.
28. 'Towards a Definition of Popular Theatre', p. 257.
29. The Empty Space (London, 1968), p. 66.
30. The Empty Space, p. 71.
31. Mayer, p. 266.
32. Christophe Campos, 'Telling the Difference: Some Forms of Popular Theatre', Theatre Quarterly, 6 (1976), 89-93 (p. 91).
33. Campos, 'Telling the Difference', p. 93.
34. Richard Schechner, 'Audience Participation', The Drama Review, 15 (1971), 73-89 (p. 74).
35. Bethell, Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition, p. 13.

36. Feeling and Form (London, 1953), p. 316.
37. Dr. Johnson on Shakespeare, edited by W.K. Wimsatt (Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 70.
38. For example, J.L. Styan, Maynard Mack, and Robert Weimann.
39. Robert Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, edited by Robert Schwartz (Baltimore and London, 1978), p. 251.
40. Potter, The English Morality Play, p. 271, note 104.
41. The Medieval Stage, 2 vols (London, 1903), II, 181.
42. Chambers, II, 183.
43. Wickham, Early English Stages, I, 234.
44. The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare, p. 310.
45. George E. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy. A Study in Popular Entertainment (Princeton, 1952), p. 82.
46. The Tudor Interlude, p. 2 and p. 18.
47. Irving Ribner, 'Morality Roots of the Tudor History Play', Tulane Studies in English, 4 (1954), 21-43 (p. 31), note 27.
48. The so-called 'Winchester Moralities' - the fifteenth-century texts Lucidus and Dubius and Occupation and Idleness - also fall outside the scope of this thesis for, though influenced by the interlude tradition - chiefly the latter - they are dialogues rather than drama. See A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050-1500, edited by J. Burke Severs (I & II) and Albert E. Hartung (III & IV), 4 vols (New Haven, 1967-1973), III, 742-4. Richard Beadle, in charge of the forthcoming edition of the manuscripts for the Cambridge Tudor Interludes series, has, in a letter, confirmed the non-dramatic purposes of the works, and kindly offered me his texts for reading.
49. Annals of English Drama: 975-1700 (London, 1964). For instance, one comes across interludes classified as 'biblical', 'didactic', 'political moral', 'protestant moral', 'political-religious', 'satirical-moral', 'anti-protestant' and 'anti-Catholic moral'.
50. Early English Stages, I, 236.
51. The Medieval Stage, II, 192.
52. Virginia P. Scott, 'The Jew and the Role: Analysis of the Appeals of the Italian Comedy in France in the Time of Arlequin-Dominique', in Western Popular Theatre, edited by David Mayer and Kenneth Richards (London, 1977), pp. 1-27 (p. 1). The relevance of the comment is not confined to French drama but has a more general applicability.

53. His criteria for distinguishing a popular canon are the players' professionalism and their national audience (p. 8).
54. 'Popular and Courtly Traditions on the Early Tudor Stage', in Medieval Drama, edited by Neville Denny, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, 16 (London, 1973), pp. 91-107.
55. To More's question: 'I pre thee tell me, what playes have ye?', the player answers:

divers my Lord: the Cradle of Securitie,
 hit nayle o'th head, impacient povertie,
 the play of foure Pees, dives and Lazarus
 Lustie Juventus, and the mariage of witt
 and wisdom.
 (ll. 919-22)
56. From 'Mankind' to Marlowe, pp. 38-9.
57. From 'Mankind' to Marlowe, p. 52.
58. Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, p. 103.
59. For some of the plays of the humanist group printed by John Rastell (probably also the printer of Skelton's Magnificence) and his son William, see Pearl Hogrefe, The Sir Thomas More Circle (Urbana, 1959), pp. 255-6.
60. Thora Balslev Blatt, The Plays of John Bale (Copenhagen, 1968), p. 30, says: 'it seems fairly certain that from some date after 1536 and till Cromwell fell from power in 1540 Bale was in charge of the company known as 'my lord Cromwell's players'. See also the introduction to King Johan, edited by J.H.P. Pafford for the Malone Society (1931), p. xxii, and Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe, p. 52.
61. Weimann, p. 100.
62. 'Social Aspects of Some Belated Moralities', Anglia, 54 (1930), 107-48.
63. Michael Shapiro, Children of the Revels (New York, 1977), p. 28.
64. Alfred Harbage, Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions (first published, 1952; reprinted, Bloomington and London, 1970), pp. 66-7, says: 'the sampling is meager, a few dozen titles of lost works and twelve actual texts representing the whole corpus of drama written for the select audience from the beginning until the blank period 1591-1599'.
65. Harbage, pp. 70-89.
66. Shapiro, p. 37.
67. H.N. Hillebrand, in the preface to The Child Actors. A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 11, Nos. 1-2 (Urbana, 1926).

CHAPTER I

LOOKING-GLASSES FOR ENGLAND

For Time bringeth.... these matters to pass,
As experience hath taught in every age,
And you shall behold the same in this glass,
As a document both profitable and sage.
(Time in The Trial of Treasure)

The idea of art for art's sake was hardly defensible in the sixteenth century. Art was regarded as having primarily a social function, and ethics predominated over aesthetics.

This was particularly true for the drama, not only because of its public nature but also because of its origin. Drama had been reborn in Western Europe under the auspices of the Catholic Church, which used it mainly as a means of teaching doctrine to illiterate populations. The Christian view of art, prescriptive and hostile to the purely artistic, dominated the Middle Ages. The Renaissance, popularizing the Horatian view of poetry, reinforced this 'aesthetics of didacticism'.¹ Though differing on many other issues, in advocating instruction as the principal aim of art both Christianity and Classicism were in agreement.

Whereas on the Continent the idea of poetics subsumed under ethics was regarded in principle as a general guiding system but was followed inconsistently by individual poets, in England the idea was widely embraced, actually providing a working principle for the great majority of playwrights. At this point it is useful to draw a distinction between explicit moralizing and moral implication.² The first can be generally applied to the Tudor interludes, the second to the Elizabethan drama.³ Whereas the author of Ca isto and Melibea transforms a bawdy Spanish novel into a pious interlude and makes one of his major

characters preach directly to the audience. Shakespeare, for example, though frequently expurgating his sources,⁴ gets at the moral lesson in more subtle ways.

Even allowing for extant and possibly lost plays, representatives of a non-didactic tradition, what strikes the student of the interludes is their moral intensity. Didacticism then, was a characteristic of this drama because of the total adherence of its playwrights to the idea of the didactic function of art. This idea was reinforced by the Reformation, owing to the necessity of spreading the new religion among the people. In the second half of the century, when Elizabethan censorship prohibited the dramatic treatment of religion and current political affairs, interlude-authors turned their attention to the problems of contemporary English society. Yet, though they changed their themes, their moral vision ensured that the approach to the drama continued to be didactic.

The overt didacticism of the interludes is illustrated by the recurrence in them of the looking-glass metaphor, either implicitly or explicitly. Though also very common in the non-dramatic literature of the time,⁵ this metaphor seems to have appealed particularly to interlude-writers. Three of them actually contributed to the contemporary 'mirror' literature: John Skelton with his Speculum Principis, (c.1500 or 1511?), Thomas Sackville with the Induction and The Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham in the second edition of The Mirror for Magistrates (1563), and George Gascoigne with his satire, The Steel Glass (1576). As will be suggested throughout this chapter, the Tudor interludes, for the most part, are really dramatizations of the looking-glass metaphor, some of them announcing it in their titles, as

The Glass of Government and A Looking-Glass for London and England.

While considering the interludes as dramatizations of the mirror metaphor, one has to keep in mind the metaphor's twofold nature. As may be inferred from the epigraph to this chapter, it signifies not only a document - an image of the times - but also a model to be followed,⁶ or discarded, as the case may be. Playwrights used drama both as a medium to present critical images of English society to its members, expressing their own personal ideas about what was right and wrong, and also as a vehicle through which they repeatedly instructed their audiences in modes of correct behaviour. It has been stated that 'the interesting question about popular drama in a community is whether it is merely an expressive aspect of culture - reflecting people's beliefs about their community, or whether it is an instrumental aspect of culture - showing people how they should behave'.⁷ In the case of the interludes it may be said that as 'dramatic mirrors', they combine both the expressive and instrumental aspects of sixteenth century English culture.

In treating the interludes as illustrative images of Tudor society, it is unavoidable to deal with the long-debated question of literature's societal mirroring. Much has been written about it, but no definite answer has been given to the problem of how accurately literature reflects society. Reviewing the full extent of the argument would be beyond the scope of this chapter. It must be said, however, that the idea underlying the treatment of the documentary aspect of the interludes is the one proposed by Ian Watt, that literature reflects society, 'but it usually does so with various degrees of indirection and selectivity'.⁸ This view takes into consideration the fact that the author's own individual temperament, social experience, and personal ideology will inevitably colour his work. Aware that the selection and presentation of material by

the writer may provide a distorted view of reality, one may look into other sources - literary or non-literary - to confirm or refute it.

Nevertheless, the task of looking at the interludes as 'mirrors' of the times is facilitated by a series of factors. Firstly, the theatre, more than any other artistic manifestation 'is society or the group looking at itself in various mirrors'.⁹ Secondly, interludes are popular drama and this drama, being conservative by nature, does not encourage its playwrights to welcome foreign elements to their culture. Thus, the interludes, like any other form of popular drama, 'reflect with phenomenal accuracy the nominal ideals and values of the societies that produced them. In these dramas we find the valid myths and fantasies that express the dynamics and ethos of their society'.¹⁰ Thirdly, as interludes as a whole - and not isolated ones - are being considered it is possible to see in the recurrence of certain topics a relationship between the pressing problems of contemporary society and the preoccupations of the dramatists. Fourthly, Tudor society, in spite of the many changes it suffered from the time of Henry VII to Elizabeth, was still largely homogeneous: Christian in religion, monarchical in government, aristocratic in politics, agricultural in economy and hierarchical in its class structure. Consequently, it seems valid to take for granted the representativeness of the images projected by the drama, since popular dramatists are generally unwilling to lead audiences to newer or radically different modes of behaviour. Finally, as has already been suggested, there was no doubt concerning the functional position of art in society: the playwright knew what was expected of him and of his work.

For these reasons, it is feasible to accept that, by and large, the interludes present reliable critical images of the moral, social, and political life of sixteenth-century England, though in varying degrees. Inventing their stories, or borrowing them to illustrate their themes, the dramatists' declared intention was to offer Englishmen interpretative mirrors of their own society. It must be said that in the treatment of the expressive aspect of the interludes, emphasis will be placed on the thematic concerns of the playwrights as parts of a collective response to the most relevant issues of the time. That is to say that it is not the aim of this chapter to deal specifically with the topicality of each play, though it will be mentioned whenever applicable.

On examining the instrumental aspect of the interludes, one sees that the authors' main reason for holding up a mirror to England was to provide models of moral and social behaviour so that their audiences could learn vicariously in the plays what they would otherwise have to learn by hard experience in life. These patterns of conduct are presented in both positive and negative ways: virtue is rewarded, and vice punished as announced in the prologue of Like Will to Like :

Herein as it were in a glass see you may
The advancement of virtue, of vice the decay;
(11.17-18)

It is worth noticing that the didactic and functional view of art which informs the interludes relies on a double faith: on the drama's guiding and reforming power and on the author's right to exercise this power. That drama was believed to be a powerful means of amendment is implicit in the presentation of models of behaviour. That the author considered himself entitled to preach is attested by the ever-recurring

admonitions and exhortations voiced either indirectly or directly by the characters, and/or directly through prologues and epilogues. The self-image of the preacher is often conveyed by the dramatist's addressing his audiences as 'this congregation'. Nor did he limit himself to preaching to Everyman; he also arrogated to himself the right to instruct noblemen and even the sovereign himself. In the same way that William Baldwin, dedicating The Mirror for Magistrates 'to the nobilitye and all other in office', tells them 'for here as in a loking glas, you shall see (if any vice be in you) howe the like hath bene punished in other heretofore, whereby admonished, I trust it will be a good occasion to move you to the soner amendment, This is the chieftest ende, whye it is set furth, which God graunt it may attayne'.¹¹ Some interlude-writers present a similar moral lesson to the prince and the governing class as the acknowledged purpose of their work. This work may be seen, then, as the dramatic counterpart of the speculum principis literature of the time.

For most authors mirth was not incompatible with high moral seriousness. The juxtaposition of 'sentence' and 'solace' can be found throughout the history of the interludes, from the early The Pride of Life (late fourteenth century) in which the prologue promises :

Here ye schullin here spelle
Of mirth and eke of kare;
(11.13-14)

to the late The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (1588), the title of which reads : commically interlaced with much honest Mirth, for pleasure and recreation, among many Morall observations, and other important matters of due regard. The exceptions are provided by those few interludes which are either entirely serious, or entirely comic. For the sake of this discussion,

those few which are purely comic will be treated in a special category. Thus, unless otherwise stated, it will be taken for granted that interludes, as a rule, mix seriousness and mirth.

Obviously, this mixture of serious and comic matter makes itself felt in the form of the plays, calling for an alternation of dramatic techniques.¹² The merry part is not a mere concession to the public, however. One may agree with Bernard Spivack that it 'consistently pursued a homiletic purpose even if it pursued as well the favor of the playgoers'.¹³ Or, one may accept Robert Weimann's hypothesis that the alternation between 'mimesis' and 'sport' is not due to a homiletic purpose, but to a structural principle rooted in the native popular tradition.¹⁴ The truth seems to lie in a combination of both views. For, though it is a characteristic of the popular drama to juxtapose seriousness and mirth, it is also true that medieval dramatists and interlude-writers took advantage of such juxtaposition for their didactic purposes. It has been said that 'laughter was respectable in the Middle Ages partly because it could teach. Notwithstanding its value as entertainment, it seldom wholly neglected this other function'.¹⁵ As the locus classicus of laughter was the drama,¹⁶ interlude-writers inherited 'sport' as an effective means of instruction. The great danger was that the main comic figure - the Vice - became such an attractive theatrical character that, because of him, the seriousness of the message would often be obscured.

Like didacticism, the frequency with which English playwrights mix serious and comic matter is another characteristic trait of Tudor drama. On the Continent, the alternation between the serious and the comic, though present in the popular medieval drama, is gradually wiped out by the writers' obedience to the rules which called for the separation

of genres in the Renaissance. In England, this feature of the popular dramaturgy is maintained by Tudor playwrights, becoming not only a characteristic of the interludes but of the Elizabethan drama as well.

The aim of this chapter is to propose that most interludes, read as 'dramatic mirrors', prove to be specifically English. Their thematic preoccupations reflect the most important issues concerning contemporary English life with a view to the enlightenment and improvement of the audience. In other words, this is a drama for Englishmen about Tudor England.

For the sake of this discussion, the inter-connected concepts of the moral-religious and the socio-political will have to be separated. The artificiality of the division is obvious to any student of sixteenth-century literature, for in that age the moral, the religious, the social and the political aspects were inextricably interwoven. In Bale's King John, for example, the Vices exchange roles with historical characters. Sedition becomes Stephen Langton, Discimulation Simon of Swinsett, Private Wealth Pandulphus, and Usurped Power the Pope (Innocent III). In view of this the sub-division of the composite image of the interludes is to be taken only as a pattern imposed on a vast body of material to enable it to be more systematically treated.

The Moral-Religious Image

Though a few interludes were written before 1485, their main chronological span begins when Henry VII ascends the throne, and embraces virtually the whole Tudor period. With this fact in mind, it is significant that the main image of England reflected in the interludes until the middle of the sixteenth century is moral-religious.

The Reformation is greatly responsible for the long predominance on the English stage of religious themes. The growing secularization of the drama under humanistic auspices, so promising in the first half of Henry VIII's reign, is halted by the King's final break with Rome in 1535. Religion is brought back into the interludes with renewed force, and they become vehicles for the propagation of the new doctrine. The shortness of Mary's reign did not allow the production of a series of counter-Reformation plays. The main preoccupation with religious issues is only checked when, in 1559, Elizabeth forbade their presentation on the stage.

Religion is thus the principal theme for a great number of interlude-writers. In order to illustrate it they initially invent their own stories, and later on, go to the Bible for inspiration. In their handling of religious material they present a series of records of the Catholic face of England and its drastic change into a Protestant one. Yet, though dealing mainly with timeless spiritual matters, playwrights could not help looking at their own contemporary society.

1.1 Pre-Reformation Themes

The reflection of English society is hardly the purpose of early

Catholic interludes such as The Pride of Life, (late fourteenth century), The Castle of Perseverance (1405 - 1425), and Everyman (1495)¹⁷, for 'the church and the whole outlook of her ministry and instruction were still predominantly universal'.¹⁸ For the primary aim of these plays is to hold up a mirror, not to a single nation, but to Man's soul, and present it unprepared to attain God's grace. This is shown when Death comes not only for the ordinary protagonists of The Castle of Perseverance and Everyman, but also for the princely one of The Pride of Life. Eventually all three achieve salvation, though in the case of the King of Life, Our Lady has to intervene - 'scho wd prey her son so mylde' (l.99). Though a few topographical references occasionally bring the action down to England, the emphasis on the spiritual nature of the theme prevents a closer examination of the social scene.

Wisdom Who is Christ or Mind, Will and Understanding (1450-1500) though focussing on the soul's struggle between good and evil also deals with the worldly political activities of religious men. Though these might be set in any Catholic country, David Bevington reads the play as a topical comment on the figure of the churchman-bureaucrat, the evil of maintenance, and the consequent corruption of the legal process.¹⁹ His argument is furthered by the satiric characterization, and the topical and topographical allusions which contribute to locating the abuses in England.

The English scene, implicit in Wisdom, is more explicitly revealed in other moral-religious interludes. Though the playwrights remain loyal to their spiritual subject matter, they realise that the message can be more effectively conveyed if their stories are set in

the specific locale of contemporary England. Thus, the theme proposes the homiletic lesson, and the countertheme illustrates it by giving the protagonist's temptation and subsequent life-in-sin a well-known habitation.

The basic theme of all these interludes is the same as that of The Castle of Perseverance²⁰ and Wisdom: the conflict between good and evil for the hero's soul. Mankind (1465-1470), Nature (1495), The World and the Child (1508), and Youth (1520), all present their heroes oscillating between virtue and vice, succumbing to the latter, and, finally well set on the way to repentance, and consequently, salvation. In Hickscorner (1513), though the protagonists Freewill and Imagination, like the title-character of Everyman, are steeped in sin ab initio they discover the path to righteousness in the end.

The treatment of the themes is obviously coloured by Catholic dogma. For example, in all these interludes, Man's free will is taken for granted, as Freewill proclaims in Hickscorner : 'I may choose whether I do good or ill' (p.32). Man is responsible for his own salvation or damnation, but eventually his capacity for grace asserts itself. This is attested by the fact that all these pre-Reformation interludes have a happy ending. It is also worth noticing that the texts of The Castle of Perseverance and Everyman emphasise the role of the Church and its priesthood in man's struggle for redemption as a link between him and God. This idea could also be more strikingly conveyed, for it is clear from the texts that some Virtues - Mercy in Mankind, Conscience in The World and the Child, Perseverance in Hickscorner and Charity in Youth-wear clerical dress.²¹ Finally, it may also be added that the need for prayer is also preached,

and, occasionally, reinforced by means of its visual symbol, beads. Their power against temptation is made clear when the title-character of Mankind, leaving his rosary behind, is helpless to fight the idleness which overcomes him (l.585). Similarly, when the hero of Youth is set on the way to salvation, Charity gives him a present :

Here be beads for your devotion,
And keep you from all temptation.
(ll.760-1)

The handling of the subject matter, then, leaves no doubt that these plays were written for a Catholic audience.

It is the countertheme, however, which makes the teaching of Catholic doctrine particularly relevant to contemporary English spectators. These counterthemes are generally comic, since they are acted out by the Vices. It has already been suggested that the juxtaposition of the serious and the comic is a characteristic of most interludes. In the plays under discussion it is absent from Everyman and Wisdom, plays without Vices.²² In the fragment of The Pride of Life there is promise of laughter as Mirth describes himself as the King's 'mery messagere', (l.280). In the remaining plays, the coexistence between 'sentence' and 'solace' makes up an organic whole.

The Vices' 'comedy of evil',²³ provides viciousness with a worldly setting which turns out to be largely English. As will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, Mankind sets his hero's fall in a tavern in East Anglia; in The World and the Child Manhood's corruption occurs in London, and Hickscorner and Youth are full of allusions to some of the least respectable places in London. In Nature, though the English scene is not explicitly referred to, it is easily identifiable by the native types which inhabit the social underworld of

the play. Thus, at the same time that these scenes and topographical references drive the ethical message home, they also allow playwrights to project images - selected and unflattering to serve their purposes - of the English social context.

The Vices' comedy also helps to project another unflattering image of contemporary times: that of the clergy. Sloth in The Castle of Perseverance, Covetise in Nature, Folly in The World and the Child, and the sinful Freewill in Hickscorner all claim to be on good terms with clergymen. The exposure can be taken in two ways: either as untruthful, as part of the Vices' technique to prevent the salvation of the hero by demoralizing religion through its priests, or, as truthful, being part of the dramatist's idea to reveal that the priest, like Everyman, is frail, prone to sin, and in need of amendment.

The second possibility proves to be valid when one examines other sources of information. The sinful cleric had been a famous literary personage throughout the Middle Ages, not only on the Continent but in England as well - Chaucer's clerics supplying the obvious examples. Such unflattering portraits were suggested by the well-known clerical abuses of the time. That these abuses continued in the sixteenth-century is a fact accepted by all those who study the history of the period, and see in the corruption of the clergy one of the main causes of the Reformation.²⁴ As will be seen later, the Catholic playwrights constantly register the image of the unworthy priest in their works. Here it is enough to mention that in John the Evangelist (1520), the one New Testament theme treated by Catholic dramatists, John, in his third sermon, identifies the Pharisee with contemporary hypocritical churchmen. Even in Everyman, which more than any other Catholic interlude stresses the essential role of the Church and its

priesthood in the achievement of salvation, one comes across the complaint that 'sinful priests giveth the sinners example bad'. (1.759).

Besides showing Man his soul, and the social milieu which endangers its salvation, with corrupt clergymen who neglect their duties towards him, these interludes also provide Man with mirrors of behaviour to achieve God's grace. Basically he should lead a virtuous life according to the tenets of Catholicism, practising good deeds and forsaking the seven deadly sins in order to prepare himself to face life after death. The model to emulate is presented by the Virtues and, on occasion, pointed out by the Vices themselves. What to avoid is demonstrated by the Vices' impudent behaviour and obscene language. The hero usually exemplifies both types of conduct, depending on his spiritual state.

Thus, the idea propounded in The Castle of Perseverance for the need of perseverance throughout Man's life to obtain God's grace is taken up by Reason in Nature when encouraging the young protagonist: 'Have good perseverance, and be not in fear' (p.133). Generally, however, models of behaviour are presented in the form of direct admonitory address to the audience, which makes the broad homiletic advice particular and immediate because of its local applicability. Thus, sometimes, it is one of the Virtues, like Mercy in Mankind, who exhorts the spectators :

O! ye sovereigns that sit, and ye brothern that
stand right up,
Pryke not your felicities in things transitory!
Behold not the earth, but hold your eye up!
(11.29-31)

Sometimes it is the hero who, like the protagonist of Everyman, offers his own experience for the audience to learn vicariously from :

Take example, all ye that this do hear or see,
How they that I loved best do forsake me,
Except my Good Deeds, that bideth truly.
(11.867-9)

At other times, the moral lesson is pointed out both by one of the
Virtues and the hero, as in the case of The World and the Child.

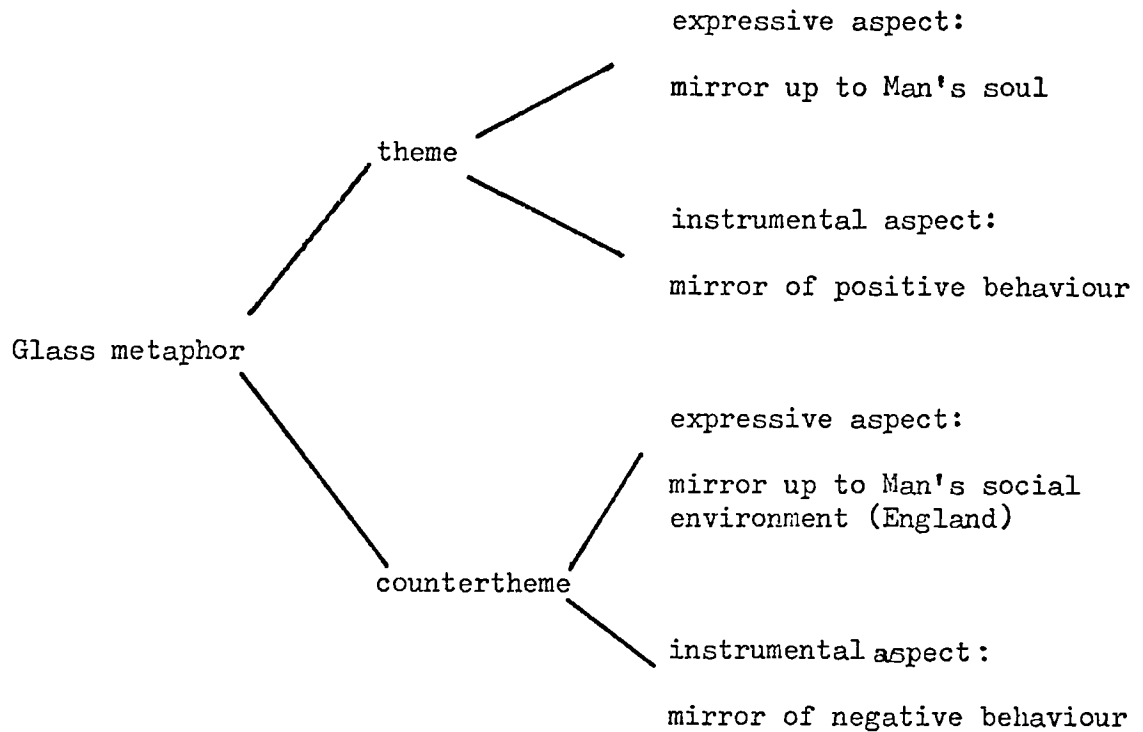
First, Conscience exhibits Manhood's spiritual decadence:

Lo, sirs, a great example you may see,
The frailness of mankind,
How oft he falleth in folly
Through temptation of the Fiend.
(11.716-9)

Then, to reinforce the lesson, the hero - now named Age - presents
himself as a model unfit to be imitated : 'Now sirs, take all example
by me' (1.961).

Thus, exhortations and admonitions reiterate on the level of
speech what the audience sees or has seen on the level of action.²⁵
And it is important to remember that most of the action which provokes
such pious advice is, on the whole, illustrative of the counter-theme
which is generally worldly and, more particularly, English. Moreover,
the indoor and intimate conditions of performance of these interludes
(except a few like The Castle of Perseverance) would guarantee that the
ethical message was limited in its appeal: delivered not to Everyman,
but to every Englishman.

The dramatization of the glass metaphor, as carried out by the
theme and countertheme of most of these pre-Reformation interludes, may
be better summarized in the following diagram :



1.2 Post-Reformation Themes

After 1535, the interludes, with very few exceptions, and in varying degrees, reflect the adherence of England to Protestantism. That such a violent change in the moral-religious image of the country could have been effected so thoroughly as suggested by the drama may seem doubtful. For, if in the previous interludes there was only one religious position to adopt, with the Reformation there was the possibility of at least two divergent views.

Of course it must be taken into consideration that, excluding the brief reign of Mary (1553-1558), England - from the time of Edward VI's accession - was governed by Protestant monarchs. This fact partly explains the survival of mostly Protestant interludes, for the State censorship would certainly make sure that Catholic voices were silenced. Historians seem to be in agreement that the process of converting the country to the reformed religion was far more peaceful

and thorough than one might expect. Whether to 'many Englishmen of the day loyalty to the King and country were of the first importance',²⁶ or whether 'the seeming indifference to faith during the first half of the century, and the meekness with which the royal example was followed arose largely from the widespread belief in the spiritual supremacy of the sovereign',²⁷ the significant fact is that 'the English Reformation under Henry VIII produced, one might say, no victims and only martyrs. Since among these martyrs there were also some of the most attractive personalities of the day, much attention has always been given to the opposition and its downfall, but the most impressive thing about it is the exiguous size'.²⁸

The image conveyed by the drama of a largely Protestant England can be assumed, then, to be fairly accurate. It is worth observing that post-Reformation religious interludes, like their predecessors, continue to treat their themes as mirrors to Man's soul and its struggle for salvation. The difference lies in the way in which the counterthemes present mirrors to the evils of English reality in which Catholicism is now included. For, as has been affirmed, 'the new Protestant morality was not preaching primarily against man's internal propensity to sin but against a well-organized external force, Catholicism, which "seduced" man into a way of life the Protestants regarded as evil'.²⁹

This association of Catholicism with evil naturally affects the proposed mirrors of behaviour: in general, the theme presents the positive Protestant modes of conduct, whereas the countertheme offers the negative, Catholic ones. The pre-Reformation interludes are essentially homilies; the post-Reformation ones are both homilies and polemical invectives.

1.2.1 Biblical Themes

When dealing with religion most Catholic playwrights invent their own stories; on the other hand, most Protestant authors turn to the Bible for inspiration. There are only two extant Biblical plays by Catholic writers: the already mentioned John the Evangelist, and Godly Queen Hester, which stresses politics rather than religion. It is immediately observable that there is an increase in Biblical plays in the post-Reformation period. For instance, four of John Bale's five surviving plays deal with Biblical themes, and two of them - Three Laws and God's Promises - draw material from both the Old and New Testaments for their plots. It is also noticed that, in the second half of the century, there is a marked shift of interest from the New to the Old Testament and the Apocrypha.

Owing to the spiritual nature of the subject matter these Biblical themes remain - like their Catholic counterparts - rather generalized. Again, it is the countertheme which allows an incursion into the native social environment. Yet, possibly because of the writers' dependence on their source, these incursions are rather brief. This means that, on the whole, these plays are rather mirrors of Man's soul and of the ideas that contributed to the making of Protestant England than societal mirrors.

Such is the case of Bale's trilogy of 1538 - God's Promises, John the Baptist, and The Temptations of our Lord. It deals, from a Protestant point of view, with Man's redemption, emphasizing the importance of the Scriptures, and denouncing the abuses of the Catholic Church. The comic countertheme is deliberately left out, as indicated by the prologue of God's Promises, when the author asks the audience

To weigh such matters as will be uttered here;
Of whom ye may look to have no trifling sport
In fantasies feigned, nor such-like gaudish cheer,
But the things that shall your inward stomach gear;
To rejoice in God for your justification,
And alone in Christ to hope for your salvation.
(pp.85-6)

These three plays then, though concerned with contemporary England and its indoctrination, maintain their themes on the spiritual plane throughout. What they reflect is the current Protestant preoccupation and zeal, eager to affirm the new doctrine and discredit the old one.

Yet, Bale displays a different technique in Three Laws (1538), and makes it an obvious Protestant play for Tudor England. Whether one regards it as Bale's dramatic treatment of the Antichrist theme,³⁰ or whether one agrees with Thora Balselv Blatt that 'Fidelitas versus Infidelitas is the real subject of the play, given in historical perspective;³¹ behind the two concepts stand God and his adversary, Satan'. Ultimately the theme of the play centres on the old battle between good and evil. But, unlike the other interludes considered so far, there is no representative of Mankind for the conflict is essentially of cosmic proportion - between God and Satan. The playwright's aim is to affirm that Protestantism is God's true religion, and preach a Christianity which relies on faith rather than good deeds.

Unlike his trilogy, in Three Laws Bale juxtaposes seriousness with mirth. The satirical countertheme, engineered by the Vices, not only exposes all the evils of the Catholic Church and its clergy, but also holds up a mirror to the native scene. The image may be distorted to serve the author's religious purpose, but its relevance lies in the fact that it is explicitly English. This is seen in the fact that Idolatry speaks a familiar rustic accent, in the many topographical

allusions (to be discussed in the next chapter) and in the topicality of such religious issues as the use of English in church. Avarice, one of the Catholic Vices, insists on the permanence of Latin for 'creed' and 'service', adding,

If they have English let it be for advantage;
For pardons, for dirges, for offerings, and pilgrimage
I reckon to make them a new creed in a while,
And all in English, their conscience to beguile.
(III p.42)

In the end, Bale underlines the idea made clear through the counter-theme - that this is a play for an English audience-when both the Law of Moses and the Law of Christ praise the 'late Josias', King Henry, for

No prince afore him took ever yet such pain
From England to banish idolatry and foul sodomy:
Covetousness, ambition, false doctrine, and
hypocrisy.
(V p.78)

The instrumental aspect of Bale's dramatic mirrors is obvious: the audience is taught to follow Protestantism and give up Catholicism. Yet, because of the rhetorical treatment of the conflict - mainly in the trilogy - his teaching lacks the directness and the consequent immediacy of the other interludes studied so far.

Lewis Wager's The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene (1558) is the last extant play to treat New Testament themes if one excludes the fragmentary The Cruel Debtor (1565). The story of Mary Magdalene is dealt with mainly to prove the Protestant view that salvation lies in faith, as expounded in the prologue :

Here an example of penance the heart to grieve
May be lerned, a love which from Faith doth spring;
(11.56-7)

The author, rather apologetically, adds the comic countertheme to the Biblical theme :

We desire no man in this poynt to be offended,
In that vertues with vice we shall here introduce;
For in men and women they have depended:
And therefore figuratively to speake, it is the use.
(11.80-3)

Yet, unlike Three Laws, the mirror held up to the social context does not overtly reflect the native scene. Though Mary succumbs to a host of vices, their concern with her personal appearance and her visit to a tavern provide only brief insights into the atmosphere of contemporary life.

What is worth noticing in this interlude is the presence of the glass metaphor woven into the fabric of the play. The character named Law of God employs it:

In me as in a glasse it doth plainly appere,
What God of his people doth require;
What the peoples' duetie is, they may see here,
Which they owe unto God, in payne of hell fyre.
(11.1035-8)

and he repeats the metaphor a few lines further on (11.1051-4). Mary begins the process of her repentance when she sees herself in the 'glass of conscience' held up by him :

O frend Prudence, doe you see yonder glasse?
I will tell what therein I doe see.
I cannot speake for sorrowe. Now out, alas!
All men for synne by God's sentence damned be.
(11.1075-8)

The mirror images above deliberately draw the audience into the play by such inclusive phrases as 'peoples' duetie' (1.1037) and 'all men' (1.1078). Thus, the generalized homily is made immediately applicable in a more ingenious way than with the usual direct admonition.

*

The second half of the sixteenth century judging by the titles of the plays - Jacob and Esau (1554), King Darius (1565), and Susanna (1569) - whos the popularity of the Old Testament and the

Apocrypha as the source of the moral religious interludes. To the above-mentioned group should also be added Lodge's and Greene's A Looking-Glass for London and England (1590). This popularity may be explained by what Murray Roston calls 'the rungs of sanctity'.³² When the New Testament came to be regarded as too sacred to be dramatized, the Old Testament became the playwrights' favourite source. Eventually the Old Testament also came to be considered too holy for the profane stage, and dramatists began to turn to the Apocrypha and the histories of Josephus for their plots.³³

These late Reformation interludes distinguish themselves from their predecessors by being non-polemical. The only exception is King Darius which contains violently anti-papist scenes. Their essential theme is still the conflict between good and evil, but this is no longer centred on a Mankind figure. Yet like most of their predecessors - with the exception of Lodge's and Greene's play - these interludes do not reflect the contemporary social context, but they do reflect very clearly the Protestant beliefs that shaped England's moral-religious image in the second half of the sixteenth century. In King Darius, the reformed religion asserts itself by defeating the unregenerate Catholic Vices; in Susanna, faith in God triumphs when he raises the spirit of Daniel to vindicate the heroine's cause; and in Jacob and Esau, the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination is illustrated by the story of the Biblical twins.

These scriptural interludes contain the usual juxtaposition of moral and merry matter, but only in Susanna can the mixture be said to provide a countertheme acted out by the Vices. In King Darius, the Vices' part, exceptionally, bears no dramatic relation to the rest of the play.

Jacob and Esau and A Looking-Glass for London and England have no Vice figures and hence no countertheme; yet, these two plays provide comic characters in their subplots. It is worth remarking that, on justifying the coexistence of 'sentence' and 'solace', the author of Susanna offers his conception of the play as a mirror :

~~(So much as)~~ matters grave and sad, if they be
mixt with myrth,
Of both which here I trust you shall, as in a
myrroure see,
And that in such a decent sort as hurtfull
shall not be.

(ll. 19-21).

Though Ill Report, the Vice of the play, with his presence and anachronistic allusions anglicizes the scenes in which he appears, this is not enough to say that the native scene is reflected in the counter-theme.

The theme of Jacob and Esau can be said to reveal the English scene - though indirectly - if it is read as a political allegory in which the scriptural account justifies revolutionary usurpation in the name of God.³⁴ Without denying the possibility of the play's topical meaning, it seems more appropriate to consider it as primarily religious because of its insistence on the dogma of predestination. The authorial intention is clearly stated when the prologue, invoking the testimony of Malachi and Paul, claims that election,

.... is not (saith Paul) in man's renewing or will,
But in God's mercy, who chooseth whom he will.
(p.188)

It is also asserted that before they were born, Jacob was chosen and Esau reprobate; but it is Rebecca's conspiracy that ensures that God's will be done at any price. The unconvincing illustration of the theme of election does not prevent the Poet, in the end, from endorsing his belief that God

.... not all flesh did then predestinate,
But only the adopted children of promise.
(p.263)

The importance of this theme lies in the fact that not only does it totally reject the Catholic dogma of Man's free will, but also attests to the growing influence of Calvinism in English Protestantism.

In spite of its overall Biblical atmosphere, the author of Jacob and Esau permits some glimpses into native life and customs which will be examined in the next chapter. Yet, these glimpses do not suggest - as the Vices' comedy of evil - a vicious image of society.

A Looking-Glass for London and England is interesting in having a collective Mankind representative at the centre of the action. It holds up a mirror not to Man's soul, but to the soul of a whole city. Thus, the unfolding of the theme simultaneously reflects the spiritual and the social atmosphere by presenting Nineveh/London as totally immersed in evil. This is possible because for the first time the moral-religious drama shows itself free from the influence of the Church, and the authors can treat the Biblical events in a more imaginative way.³⁵ The analogy between the two cities is obvious since every scene illustrating the moral decadence of Nineveh is used as an example to London. The analogy is further reinforced by the subplot which presents a series of vicious English social types as 'Ninevites', portraying their own version of sinful courtly behaviour. This is the way the dramatists paint contemporary London, a picture obviously exaggerated, and possibly prompted by their anger at the urban evils of the time. Yet, there is a positive note in the fact that Jonah succeeds in converting the Ninevites.

All these interludes fulfil the instrumental aspect of the metaphor by proposing patterns of conduct. The Protestant Virtues of King Darius and the heroine of Susanna present positive moral attitudes, whereas the papistical Vices of the former play, and the Vice and elderly judges of the latter provide the negative examples. In Jacob and Esau, owing to the equivocal behaviour of both Rebecca and Jacob, a rather blurred mirror of conduct emerges. The author makes it clear in his portrayal of Esau, that the youngster's example ought not to be followed; on the other hand, he fails to convey an uncritical acceptance of Rebecca and Jacob's behaviour. What he finally advises the audience is to trust God's wisdom:

Our part therefore is first to believe God's word,
Not doubting but that he will his elected save:
Then to put full trust in the goodness of the Lord,
That we be of the number, which shall mercy have:
Thirdly, so to live, as we may in his promise crave.
(p.263)

It is in A Looking-Glass for London and England, however, that the skilful interweaving of the Biblical theme with the looking-glass metaphor makes the moral lesson more frequently focussed on than in any other interlude. For after almost every scene in which Nineveh's sins are exposed, the prophet, Oseas (and, in the end, Jonas) directly admonishes the spectators. Though he can occasionally select a class of society for his target,

Flie, Judges, flie corruption in your Court;
The Judge of truth hath made your judgement short.
(II, 2.722 -3)

it is the city of London which he constantly addresses ³⁶ until the moment he leaves the stage, not without a final warning:

Looke, London, look. with inward eies behold
What lessons the events do here unfold.
(IV.5.1716-7)

The ethical message is strikingly conveyed: not only because of its immediacy, frequency, and length but also because of the moral stature of the conveyors - prophets of the Biblical past, who come to contemporary England to alert it to its spiritual danger. When Oseas is taken away by the Angel, Jonas, who had been in charge of the Ninevites' moral recovery, now turns his attention to Londoners :

London, awake, for feare the Lord do frowne;
I set a looking glass before thine eyes.
(V.5.2276-7)

Thus, as late as 1590, one find the didacticism of the moral-religious interludes at its peak, though free from the strongly Protestant tone which characterizes most of their post-Reformation representatives.

1.2.2 Non-Biblical Themes

The non-Biblical interludes which have religion as their main concern are: Impatient Poverty (1547), The Trial of Treasure (1567), New Custom (1571), The Conflict of Conscience (1572), and the fragment of Somebody, Avarice, and Minister, or The Spoiling of Lady Verity (1550). Whereas the two first plays do not reveal the post-Reformation upheaval, the three last revert to the polemics characteristic of the early Reformation drama.

Impatient Poverty furnishes an interesting case since scholars are not agreed which religion its author belongs to. David Bevington believes that the interlude 'is actually a revision of a much earlier text, with its Catholic emphasis on the necessity of formal penance and ecclesiastical courtseven though the system is frequently abused.'³⁷ On the other hand, defending the view that the play belongs to Elizabeth's reign, its editor, J. S. Farmer, affirms that 'the play is too distinctly

and settled Protestant - indeed, the tone is even that of "the new learning" victorious - to admit of a Marian chronolgy'.³⁸ According to F. P. Wilson, however, Impatient Poverty 'is certainly as early as Mary's reign and may go back to Henry's' and, he believes that it is 'one of the very few that might be acceptable to both parties'.³⁹ On reading the play carefully one is inclined to share Bevington's view in spite of its criticism of ecclesiastical courts. If this view proves to be right, then this interlude would be among the very few Catholic plays written after 1535.

Like most of their Biblical predecessors, these interludes mainly project the prevalent moral-religious attitudes of the time. In the counterthemes there emerges an image of the society which puts such attitudes into practice, but this social milieu is not always clearly identifiable as English.

Impatient Poverty and The Trial of Treasure, as their titles imply, have monetary concerns. Their main preoccupation is with the dangers faced by Man's soul, when he is strained either by poverty or wealth. In both interludes, religion is used to justify Man's financial position as a result of his obedience to God's laws. The fight between good and evil is now interpreted in terms of present pecuniary profit. Man learns that to be good is to be financially rewarded in this world, and then to live blissfully in the next.

Though both plays have conterthemes dominated by the Vices as usual, only Impatient Poverty reflects an overtly English social scene. One of the Vices plans the protagonist's downfall by making him acquainted with such evils as cards and dice, and by introducing him to bad company.

The audience is not actually shown the scenes of the hero's temptation and sinful life, but statements like Misrule's :

I came now straight from the stews,
From little pretty Jone -
Lord! that she is a pretty one!.
(p.332)

plus references to disreputable places of London draw the picture of the moral dangers offered by English society.

In The Trial of Treasure, both the theme and the countertheme are developed through the parallel but opposite careers of Just and Lust. Though one of the Vices speaks with a rustic accent and there are a few topographical allusions to England, this is not enough to make the countertheme penetrate far into the native social context. What both interludes clearly demonstrate is that 'the distinction between heaven and earth, like the opposition between soul and body, become less acute; and the virtues that give the human soul entry to the one become identified with the virtues that permit comfort and prosperity in the other'.⁴⁰

In both plays the message is made locally applicable through direct exhortations and warnings to the audience. Thus, if the expressive aspect of the mirror metaphor does not specifically reflect England, the instrumental one ensures that the moral lesson is learned by Englishmen. As a matter of fact, the writers of these two interludes regard them as dramatic mirrors. In Impatient Poverty, Prosperity, apologising to the audience at the end, says that the play 'is but a mirror vice to exclude' (p.347); and Time's statement that The Trial of Treasure is a 'glass' has already been quoted as the epigraph to this chapter. Thus, while Prosperity in Impatient Poverty, when turned into Foolish Poverty, advises young men :

Evil Company destroyeth man - on me
ye see the proof.

(p.342)

Trust's admonition in The Trial of Treasure is more inclusive since he addresses himself to different classes of men, from emperors, princes and noblemen to the common people. In the part of the warning which concerns the latter, they are told :

Ye poor men and commons, walk well in your vocation,
Banish lust and desire which is not convenient;
Let trust work in you a full contentation,
Considering that it leadeth to treasures more excellent,
For these are uncertain, but they are most permanent.
Your necessity supply with virtue and trust,
And then shall you enjoy your crown among the just.
(p.231)

Besides being in contradiction with the materialist concerns unfolded by the play, this admonitory passage has a special social significance which will be dealt with in the next section of this chapter.

Nathaniel Woodes' The Conflict of Conscience, though it has been interpreted topically,⁴¹ really focusses on the conflict between good (Protestantism) and evil (Catholicism) for the soul of Protestant Man. For, though based on the life of the Italian lawyer, Francis Spira (or Spiera) the author - as he states in the prologue - decided to universalize his character so that the play's didactic aim could be more comprehensive in its appeal.

The strong anti-Catholicism of the theme is extended to the countertheme when Woodes brings to the stage a Catholic Inquisition trial headed by a Cardinal and his associates - the papistical Vices, Tyranny, Avarice, and Suggestion. Yet their action, though reflecting current socio-political pressures on Man's religious beliefs, does not hold up a mirror specifically to English society.

What is worth noticing in this play is its effective use of the mirror metaphor, which deserves to be treated in some detail. Philologus bravely resists falling into sin - that is, recantation - until

Suggestion presents him with a 'glass of worldly delights'. In it Philologus can see all the joys that lie in store for him if he decides to live as a Catholic :

Oh gladsome glass, O mirror bright, oh crystal clear
as sun!
The joys cannot be uttered which herein I behold,
Wherefore, I will not thee forsake what evil soever
come.

(IV.2.1495-7)

Deceived by the Vice's mirror, he embraces Catholicism. The moment of the realization of his wickedness comes when Horror brings him another mirror :

The glass, likewise, of vanities, which is thine only
joy,
I will transform into the glass of deadly desperation,
By looking in the which thou shalt conceive a great
annoy.

(V.2.1719-21)

The looking-glass metaphor is thus built into the structure of the play. Like Mary Magdalene before him, Philologus sees his soul in the 'glass of conscience' that Horror holds up to him :

My sins, alas, which in this glass appear innumerable,
For which I shall no pardon get,.....
(V.2.1734-5)

Mary repents, and is saved by her faith; Philologus's last moral stage is a more delicate issue. His repentance/salvation, or despair/damnation depends on which version of the play one is dealing with.⁴² In one version, the Nuntius announces the hero's redemptive ending; in the other existing version, the Nuntius narrates how the hero, in the grip of despair, hangs himself.

The twofold possibility of the end does not invalidate the playwright's conception of his interlude as a mirror of conduct. His intention is made clear when Eusebius, one of the protagonist's friends, points out :

Here may the worldlings have a glass,
their states for to behold,
And learn in time for to escape the judgments of
the Lord.

(V.3.2063-5)

It must be remarked, however, that the applicability of the moral lesson is less universal than the above quotation suggests. For the interlude's main target is those members of the native Protestant audience who are still unsure of their faith, and whom the author wants to remind of the spiritual dangers of religious relapse.

Among all the non-Biblical moral-religious plays, New Custom stands out for the Englishness of its theme: the establishment of Protestantism in England. Thus, it not only reflects the religious ideas of the time but it also allows a series of insights into the past and contemporary social scenes. The dramatic conflict is the fight between Protestantism - represented by the ministers New Custom and Light of the Gospel, helped by Assurance, Edification, and God's Felicity - and Catholicism - represented by the priests Perverse Doctrine and Ignorance, plus their accomplices Avarice, Cruelty and Hypocrisy. Topographical allusions locate the scene in England, reference to the jailings and burnings of Protestants during Queen Mary's reign project images of the past, and current topical religious issues such as services in English, and the right costume for preachers ⁴³ convey an image of the contemporary scene.

The most relevant fact concerning the unfolding of the theme is that Light of the Gospel succeeds in converting Perverse Doctrine, who then becomes Sincere Doctrine. This has led to the belief that this interlude 'exemplifies Elizabeth's policy of moderation and gentle recovery of wayward Catholics'.⁴⁴ Perverse Doctrine's conversion also provides a most impressive mirror of behaviour for the audience, as it

makes Catholicism itself realize that it is not Christ's true doctrine.

*

The moral-religious image of England presented by the interludes is diversified. The Catholic interludes reflect the preoccupations of any European country still much concerned with Man's life in the next world. Their main theme is the human struggle for salvation, expressed in the conflict between good and evil, generally focussed on a Mankind figure. Although a few interludes stay almost entirely on the spiritual plane, the majority illustrates the moral lesson by looking at the society - in this case the native one - which threatens Man's redemption. The reading of such interludes suggests that they are specifically meant for an English Catholic audience. All these pre-Reformation plays suggest patterns of conduct based on the Catholic dogma that Man's free will and natural propensity for virtue eventually lead him to attaining God's grace.

The post-Reformation interludes still hold up a mirror to Man's soul, and focus on the problem of salvation. The difference lies in their looking at Catholicism as one of the societal evils which assail Man, and in the proposed paths of redemption. Also, their tendency is rather to reflect the current moral-religious attitudes than the society in which they prevail. This is particularly true of the early Reformation interludes: in their strong anti-Catholic bias they betray the zeal of the Reformers in the task of imposing Protestantism as the true religion, and rarely look at the social context. They turn to the Bible to endorse their views, and tell Englishmen that the way to heaven is paved with faith, not good deeds.

Late Reformation interludes, on the whole, show the new religion more firmly established, and, consequently, less polemical. They use Biblical stories but also invent their own stories to illustrate their themes. They project the ideas that Lutheranism is yielding to Calvinism, and that Englishmen are trying to compromise between the acquisition of riches and the right to go to heaven. To realise how changed the moral-religious image is one has only to remember that in the Catholic Everyman, the hero's wealth was the main obstacle to his salvation. Some of these interludes provide either brief or long incursions into the native environment through the Vices or low-life characters. All of them, however, are concerned to apply the homiletic lesson to their native audience as effectively as possible.

All the interludes discussed above can be seen as dramatized forms of the looking-glass metaphor. They hold up their mirrors either to Man's soul and the society which corrupts it, or to the moral-religious atmosphere of the period. At the same time that they articulate contemporary moral values, they also propose desirable modes of behaviour. In doing so, their authors exercise their right to denounce and criticize, but also their duty to warn and advise.

2. The Socio-Political Image

As has been suggested, glimpses of the socio-political image of England are presented by the moral-religious interludes, generally when placing evil in a social context. Apart from these glimpses a closer look at the social and political issues of the time is offered by a series of interludes which, though insisting on their moral aim, concentrate on the English socio-political scene. Such plays had already been written in the first half of the sixteenth century, but their career was interrupted by the dramatic propagandist wave of Protestantism. Thus, this tradition of the socio-political drama only reappears with full force in the second half of the century.

The treatment of socio-political themes by interlude-writers can also be viewed as dramatizations of the looking-glass metaphor - mirrors of the times, in which Englishmen are invited to look at themselves. This idea is expressed through the usual juxtaposition of 'sentence' and 'solace', the latter being mainly the task of the Vices, and also of low-life characters. It must be pointed out, however, that since the theme is now developed in a social context it shares the same setting as the Vices' countertheme.

2.1 The Education of Youth

The upbringing of youth is a pervasive topic throughout the history of the interludes. Its frequency in these plays suggests the great interest in education in sixteenth-century England. Education is treated in several ways: as a minor theme, as a major one; informed either by Christianity or by Humanism; emphasizing either moral, or social, or intellectual values.

2.1.1 The Christian Viewpoint

The earliest interludes which reflect a moral-religious image of English society already yield an interest in young people; for youth, due to its lack of experience, is impressionable and easily led to sin. The World and the Child shows Manhood in his tender age being attracted to London by the Vice, and corrupted there. In Hickscorner, Freewill and Imagination are portrayed as reckless youngsters easily corrupted but also easily converted. This is also the main characteristic of Youth, on whom charity comments :

Yonder ye may see youth is not stable,
But evermore changeable;
(11.543-4)

In the fragmentary Old Christmas or Good Order, on realising that the Vices Gluttony and Riot are beyond redemption, the ruler attributes it to the fact that in their youth they were 'brought up in lewdenes'. (1.34).

This concern with the education of young people intrudes into different interludes, sometimes rather unexpectedly. In Magnificence, for example, after having struck the prince, Adversity recites a long passage in which he tells how he punishes parents who are negligent of their children's upbringing by sparing the rod (11.1920-35). The author of Calisto and Melibea astonishes his spectators by changing, all of a sudden, a love story into an educational tract. After his prophetic dream has saved Melibea from falling prey to Celestina's schemes, Danio (the father) addresses the audience :

Lo, here ye may see, what a thing it is
To bring up young people virtuously.
(p.86).

And he continues for more than fifty lines, to exhort parents and 'rulers

of young folks' to bring them up correctly (pp.86-7). Yet, the greatest surprise is to be found in Thersites, an interlude the chief purpose of which is to entertain. This intention is carried out until the moment Thersites's mother dismisses Telemachus - after giving him a charm to make his worms disappear - and praises him :

I-wis is a proper child,
And in behaviour nothing wild;
Ye may see what is good education:
I would every man after this fashion
Had their children up brought.
Then many of them would not have been so nought:
A child is better unborn than untaught.
(p.221)

If this interlude was actually performed by the Eton Boys, the playwright may have inserted the passage for the benefit of his young actors. The irony lies in the fact that the hero himself is far from being a model child, and his behaviour towards his mother exactly the sort that ought not to be emulated.

Other interludes continue to show concern for youth, and the moral and social evils it was exposed to, plus the need for a good upbringing. In Impatient Poverty, the hero, after his downfall, exhorts young people to learn from his own experience (p.342). The author of Jacob and Esau deviates from the Biblical theme so that Hanan and Zathar (two of Isaac's neighbours) can exchange ideas about young people's education (pp.195-6). Lewis Wager makes his heroine in Mary Magdalene the prototype of the spoiled child who almost came to a bad end as a consequence of parental indulgence. Speaking of her parents to the Vice, Mary remembers :

But evermore they were unto me very tender;
They would not suffer the wynde on me to blowe;
My requests they would always to me render,
Wherby I knew the good will that to me they did owe.
(ll.166-9)

On the other hand, the authors of Patient Grissell and Appius and

Virginia portray their heroines as models of filial behaviour. For instance, Virginia's mother tells her daughter :

The pert and pricking prime of youth ought
chastisement to have,
But thou, dear daughter, needest not,
(p.6)

Grissell is shown as a maiden dutifully looking after her old and poor parents, and advising other children to do the same even in the songs she sings. That education shared with patience the thematic interest of the dramatist can be inferred from the title of his interlude: 'The Commoditye of pacient and meeke Grissell, Whearin is declared, the good example, of her pacience towards her husband: and lykewise, the due obedience of Children toward their Parentes'. Yet the education topic keeps his interest for the first eight hundred lines, being superseded only by Grissell's legendary patience.

As a last example may be mentioned Like Will to Like (1568), an interlude mainly concerned with social corruption. It presents a host of sinners duly punished for their misdeeds. It is noticeable, however, that the ethical message of the interlude is aimed both at parents and children. One of the criminals, Tom Tossplot, warns parents to avoid damnation by bringing up their children correctly. He quotes his own example :

If my parents had brought me up in virtue and
learning,
I should not have had this shameful end;
But all licendiously was by upbringing;
(ll.1014-16)

Another criminal, Cutpurse, with a halter around his neck, is eager to warn youngsters :

O all youth, take example by me;
Flee from evil company as from a serpent
you would flee,
For I to you all a mirror may be.
(ll.1137-9)

The education of youth, apart from being a subsidiary theme in these interludes, is the main thematic preoccupation of a series of others : Lusty Juventus (1550), Nice Wanton (1550), The Longer Thou Livest (1559), The Disobedient Child (1560), Misogonus (1570), and The Glass of Government (1575). They are mainly influenced by the Continental pedagogical drama, and the parables of the Prodigal Son. They all dramatize the glass metaphor in the same way: their expressive aspect reflects the current ideas about education, and speculations about juvenile misbehaviour as a social phenomenon caused by a faulty upbringing; while their instrumental aspect provides positive and negative patterns of conduct for both parents and children.

Both Lusty Juventus and The Longer Thou Livest are strongly Protestant interludes which contribute to the religious polemic by equating a good education with the adoption of the reformed religion. In the first, the young hero meets Good Counsel who tells him he has been brought up in the wrong doctrine. Good Counsel does not blame the parents, however, since they themselves were 'being deceived by false preachers' (p.244). On realizing that he has been misled Juventus prays :

Oh Lord deliver me from wicked teachers,
That I be not deceived with their false doctrine.
(11.245-6)

In the second interlude, the protagonist Moros - a fool, as his name indicates - is presented as a pitiful product of a Catholic education. According to the Protestant Discipline,

Better it were to have no education
Than to be instructed in any part of idolatry;
(11.166-7)

The difference between the two plays lies in the way they treat the same theme. Whereas Juventus is reminiscent of those young Catholics

who fall into sin but are eventually set on the path to salvation, Moros is damned ab initio. The Longer Thou Livest is a Calvinistic interpretation of the education theme, permeated by the belief in predestination. At the same time that the author claims in the prologue that

The bringing up of a child from his tender age
In virtues is a great help to be an honest man;
(11.29-30)

his predeterministic bias makes him add,

But nothing, God except, is so strong as nature;
For neither counsel, learning nor sapience
Can an evil nature to honest manners allure.
(11. 44-6)

This idea is illustrated by the fact that, although Discipline and Exercitation try to bring Moros to 'humanity', the hero proves to be incorrigibly delinquent, and finishes by being carried off to hell.

Both interludes provide the Vice's comedy of evil, though their incursions into the social environment are presented in different ways: one, vaguely; the other, more specifically. In Lusty Juventus, the hero's corruption takes place in a suggested though not overtly delineated English context. In The Longer Thou Livest, the locale of the hero's sinful life is indicated by his acquaintance with the meat markets and the brew houses of London (11.250-1), and when later in the play, Moros as a man, has fulfilled the sinister promise of his youth, by the unspecified but obviously English social context of his evil actions alluded to through people's complaint. (11.1635-1742).

Yet, the direct applicability of the moral lesson to the audience is the purpose of both interludes. In Lusty Juventus not only is youth exhorted,

All you that be young, whom I do now represent,
Set your delight, both day and night on Christ's
Testament.

(11.1138-9)

but the scope of the mirror is widened to include all Christian people :

[All Christ] ian people which be here present
[May lear] n by me hypocrisy to know,
[With the] which the Devil, as with a poison
most pestilent,
Daily seeketh all men to overthrow.

(11.1124-7)

In The Longer Thou Livest, it is worth noticing the author's concern with good education as beneficial to the Commonwealth, a view commonly expressed by the humanistic writers of educational drama. Wager expounds this idea on the title-page of his interlude, which reads, 'a Myrour very necessarie for youth, and specially for such as are like to come to dignitie and promotion'. Moros's adult life, as a pernicious member of society, was shaped by his youth. Yet, the ethical lesson of this interlude can hardly be clearly conveyed because of the complexity of the predestination doctrine. Damned by his Catholicism, bad parental instruction and his own natural inclination to vice, one is left wondering what effect education could have had on the hero.

Other Calvinistic interpretations of the upbringing of youth are Nice Wanton and Gascoigne's The Glass of Government. In both plays the predestination doctrine is made clear in the presentation of the children of the same family being born either elect or reprobate. In Nice Wanton, a mother spoils her two children, whereas the third becomes virtuous in spite of her upbringing; in The Glass of Government two good fathers have each a pair of sons: the younger prove to be the elect and the elder, scapegraces.

Though there is a Vice (Iniquity) in the former interlude, and Vice-like characters (Dick Drumme and Eccho) in the latter, there is

very little mirth in these harshly Calvinistic educational tracts, with an unhappy ending for the depraved youngsters. Yet, through the presence of the vicious personages, topical and topographical allusions, the social context which appears in both plays is definitely English. This is particularly interesting in the case of The Glass of Government which is supposed to take place in Antwerp, and which will have its Englishness discussed in the following chapter.

Both interludes provide good and bad modes of behaviour very effectively, since both are coexistent in each play, offering the spectators clear-cut contrasts. Yet, again, the dogma of the elect obscures the value of education since it fails to show how the non-elect could profit by it.

It is worth noticing that, in Gascoigne's interlude, the glass metaphor is not only dramatized but also alluded to. First, he explains the title - 'a tragicall Comedie so entituled, because therein are handled aswell the rewardes for Vertues, as also the punishment for Vices' - and then, he urges his audience to profit by what it will witness in the play :

Content you then (my Lordes) with good intent,
Grave Citizens, you people greate and small,
To see your selves in Glasse of Governement.
(p.6.)

Gascoigne's glass is not only for parents and children: in the epilogue - confirming what had already been suggested in the prologue - he expands the appeal of the ethical message :

This christall glasse I polisht fayre and cleene,
For every man, that list his faultes to mend,
This was my mind, and thus I make an end.
(p.90)

The parable of the Prodigal Son, is a favourite source of inspiration for dramatists concerned with the upbringing of youth. In Lusty Juventus it appears as one of Good Counsel's arguments to convince the hero of the possibility of his salvation in spite of the latter's sins :

The prodigal son, as in Luke we read,
Which in vicious living his goods doth waste,
As soon as his living he had remembered,
To confess his wretchedness he was not aghast;
Wherefore his father lovingly him embraced
And was right joyful, the text saith plain,
Because his son was returned again.
(ll.1075-81)

This story was several times treated by the Continental educational drama,⁴⁵ and taken up as early as 1530 by English playwrights as is attested by a fragment called The Prodigal Son. Other 'prodigal son plays' are Misogonus and The Disobedient Child,⁴⁶ which not only treat the theme differently but, in various ways, give it an English social context.

In Misogonus, the prodigal son is the young protagonist who gives his name to the play. He is a miscreant, indulging in riotous and licentious living, to the great distress of his indulgent father. Only the appearance of an unknown elder brother makes him realise the wickedness of his behaviour. In The Disobedient Child, the son marries against his father's will, squanders his money and has to put up with a shrewish wife. What is left of the mutilated manuscript of Misogonus is enough to justify the assumption that Philogonus will emulate the father of the parable by forgiving his prodigal child.⁴⁷ In The Disobedient Child, however, the father refuses to accept his repentant son back and returns him to his punishment - his wife's ill treatment.

The English social environment is indirectly conveyed in Misogonus, and

overtly present in The Disobedient Child. As will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, though supposedly taking place in Laurentium (Italy), Misogonus is thoroughly coloured by English rustic life and manners. This is achieved not only through the handling of characterization and topical and local references, but also by the scenes in the sinful places where the young hero gambles, drinks, wenches and brawls in the company of his equally wicked friends. In The Disobedient Child, the social context is both English and contemporaneous. The action shifts between London and St. Albans, allowing several insights into native life and customs, as, for example, the preparations for the hero's wedding feast.

Besides the models provided by the characters, both parents and children are directly admonished in the two interludes. In Misogonus, Philogonus warns the parents in the audience:

All yow that love your children take example by me
lett them haue good doctrine and discipline in youth
Correct them be tyme least afterwarde they be
Frowarde and contempteous and so bringe yow to great ruth.
(II.5.97-100)

and reinforces his advice in the song he sings (II.5.157-66). The repentant Misogonus presents his own example as a mirror for young people of 'gentle bloude'

O all ye youthfull race of gentle bloude take heed
by this my fall
trust not to much to your heritadge and fortunes vayne
alurements
take heed of ill company, flye cardes and dice and
pleasures bestiall
eshcewe a hore as ye woud a scorpion and beware of hir
intisments.
(IV.4.33-6)

In The Disobedient Child, it is left to the Perorator to warn his audience to take example by what it has watched in the interlude. After having seen the son turn out bad because of an indulgent upbringing,

parents are told : 'spare not the rod, but follow Wisdom' (p.317). As to children, having witnessed the disobedient son's punishment, they are advised : 'by your loving parents always be ruled'. (p.318)

2.1.2 The Humanistic Viewpoint

As has been seen, from the Christian viewpoint, education is a vehicle for inculcating the right religious, moral, and social behaviour into young minds. The humanistic viewpoint, on the other hand, emphasizes intellectual rather than religious, moral, or social values. The latter are obviously taken into consideration, as they are seen as the natural consequences of the acquisition of knowledge. It cannot be said that the educational interludes inspired by Humanism reflect an actual English context. They are rather dramatizations of another set of ideas on education, illustrated by a plot influenced by the romantic tradition - which makes their setting even more unrealistic. Yet, their Englishness is expressed in the development of the theme through their preoccupation with the Commonwealth, the occasional incursions into native life and customs, and mainly by their authors' immediacy in delivering their message to the audience.

In their treatment of the education theme, these interludes interpret the conflict between good and evil in purely secular, humanistic terms. The Mankind figure is a young, would-be scholar in pursuit of learning, but falling prey to sensuous temptations. Such is the thematic focus of The Four Elements (1517), Wit and Science (1539), The Marriage of Wit and Science (1568), and The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom (1579).

John Rastell's The Four Elements is doubly didactic: not only does the author aim at demonstrating that a young scholar's path to knowledge is strewn with difficulties which need self-discipline to be overcome, but he also aims at instructing his audience in contemporary science (astronomy, cosmography and natural phenomena) through the medium of drama. This interlude is the only one among those listed above which can be easily identified as an educational tract for England. In the prologue the Messenger urges English scholars to write serious works in their own language, and to translate others in order to spread knowledge in the Commonwealth. The humanistic concern with the social value of learning, and the benefits it can bring to the State is thus expressed :

So they say that that man occupied is
For a commonwealth, which is ever labouring
To relieve poor people with temporal goods,
And that it is a common good act to bring
People from vice, and to use good living.
Likewise for a commonwealth occupied is he,
That bringeth them to knowledge that ignorant be;
(p. 9)

The Four Elements, like so many other interludes, juxtaposes serious and comic matter. The author articulates this principle on the grounds that

.... because some folk be little disposed
To sadness, but more to mirth and sport
This philosophical work is mixed
With pleasant conceits, to give men comfort.
(p.10)

It is also worth noticing that on the title-page he even suggests the possibility of shortening the play - possibly with itinerant companies in mind - by leaving out much of the 'sad matter'. In the process of acquiring learning, young Humanity yields to Sensual Appetite and Ignorance, the enemies of his intellectual pursuits. As usual the Vices' countertheme allows glimpses into the native environment as it offers the pleasures of a tavern - eating, drinking, and revelling with 'little

Nell' and 'bouncing Bess' - as a more attractive alternative to the discipline required by serious learning. As the text is incomplete, it does not allow one to know whether the young hero will attain his goal or not. Yet, judging by the positive ending of all the other humanistic educational allegories, it is feasible to assume that Humanity will eventually succeed.

This play is no mirror for parents; it does contain an ethical message for young people, indirectly - though powerfully-conveyed.

On rebuking Humanity, Nature tells him :

For if thou wilt learn no science,
Neither by study nor experience,
I shall thee never advance;
But in the world thou shalt dure then,
Despised of every wise man,
Like this rude beast Ignorance.
(p.50)

John Redford's Wit and Science and the anonymous The Marriage of Wit and Science are so alike that they can be discussed together.

The later play is a very close imitation of Redford's, and they share basically the same characters and plots. The theme - that youth in order to attain knowledge must persevere in hard work and eschew its enemies - is romantically developed. This is illustrated in both plays by the wooing of Lady Science - daughter of Reason and Experience - by young Wit, who has to undergo adventures like the killing of the monster Tediousness to prove himself worthy of the lady's love. The countertheme shows Wit succumbing to Idleness and falling asleep in her lap; meanwhile she blackens his face and exchanges his coat with Ignorance's - the visual symbols of the hero's intellectual sinfulness. Unlike most counterthemes, however, this does not provide any insight into the native scene, in spite of a significant allusion to England in Wit and Science (l. 457).

Yet, both plays become more pertinent to the native social environment as they emphasize the importance of education for the Commonwealth.⁴⁸ In Wit and Science, for example, Experience tells Wit that the use of Science will

.... profit both
Of you and your neighbor - which
Goeth of her kind to do good to all -
(II. 1077-9)

and, in The Marriage of Wit and Science, Reason argues with his daughter Science :

What comfort can you have remaining this unknown ?
How shall the Commonwealth by you advanced be,
If you abide inclosed here, where no man may you see?
(II.2.p.341)

It is worth noticing that the glass metaphor is explicitly employed, and structurally connected with the unfolding of the theme in both plays. Like the 'glass of conscience' presented to Mary by Law of God in The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene, and to Philologus by Horror in The Conflict of Conscience, Wit can see himself in a 'glass of self-knowledge' given to him by Reason:

This glass of crystal clear, which I you give,....
Behold yourself therein, and view, and pry:
Mark what defects it will discover and descry;
And so with judgment ripe and curious eye,
What is amiss endeavour to supply.
(The Marriage of Wit and Science, III.2.p.353)

It is by looking at this glass that Wit - like Mary and Philologus - begins his process of repentance. Appearing before Lady Science with a blackened face and dressed in Ignorance's coat, emblematic of his sins, he is rejected by her. Looking at his glass, he is made to see his folly :

Ha! Gog's soul! What have we here, a devil?
This glass, I see well, hath been kept evil.
Gog's soul! A fool! A fool, by the mass!
What a very vengeance aileth this glass?
Other this glass is shamefully spotted,
Or else I am too shamefully blotted.
Nay, by Gog's arms, I am so, no doubt,
How look their faces here round about?
All fair and clear they, everyone;
And, I, by the mass, a fool alone,
(Wit and Science, 11.815-24)

What is also interesting to notice here is the local applicability of the moral lesson by drawing the audience into the glass metaphor (11.822-3), and by presenting models of behaviour in a way which differs from the usual admonitory address. Whereas in The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene, phrases in the dialogue invite all the spectators - like the heroine - to examine their own consciences, in Wit and Science the protagonist, by holding up the glass to the members of the audience,⁴⁹ not only flatters them with their spotlessness but also calls their attention to his own negative example.

Francis Merbury's The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, as has been pointed out by its most recent editor, is a compilation of 'unashamed borrowings' from Redford's Wit and Science (the structure and the main characters) Gammer Gurton's Needle, Cambises and Misogonus, (humorous characters and incidents).⁵⁰ Like the other 'Wit plays' discussed above, it concerns the young would-be scholar Wit. This time, however, the object of his affection is Lady Wisdom, and the enemies of his enterprise are the monster Irksomeness and the Vices Idleness and Fancy. In the end, the wedding plans are made to the displeasure of Idleness, who realises that 'when Wit and Wisdom is joined together, then I am rejected' (1.686). The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom is the least moralizing of all the

pedagogical allegories discussed so far. This may be due to the increase of farcical scenes in the countertheme, some of them bearing little relation to the theme except for the presence of Idleness. It must be added, however, that these extraneous scenes permit a brief insight into the atmosphere of the English countryside. The lack of more obviously instructional aims, and the inorganic relationship between the theme and part of the countertheme may be due either to the work of compilation effected by the author, or to the possibility that the actual manuscript does not present the complete play.⁵¹ Yet, though heedless of its didactic aim throughout the action, this dramatic mirror finally draws the attention of its youthful audience to Wit's experience :

Wherefore, the moral mark! for Finis let it pass,
And Wit may well and worthy then use it for a glass....
Thus if you follow fast, (you) will be quit from thrall,
(And) eke in joy an(d) heavenly bliss - the which
God grant us all!

(11.765-6, 769-70)

2.2 The Commonwealth

The preoccupation with the Commonwealth, already seen in the humanistic pedagogical allegories, appears as a major theme in a great number of interludes. This preoccupation is mainly expressed through the handling of topics such as the figure of the ruler, the class structure of society, and the uses and abuses of wealth.

2.2.1 The Figure of the Ruler

The absolutist, monarchical government of sixteenth-century England centred on the king. It was therefore extremely important for the Commonwealth to have a virtuous ruler to exercise power wisely.

This preoccupation with the figure of the ruler - the ideal prince or the tyrant - was not new: it was an inheritance from classical and medieval times taken up by both dramatic and non-dramatic literature in the sixteenth century.⁵² Many interlude-writers dedicated themselves to the task of advising their prince on the art of government as attested by the great number of plays which deal with the problems of kingship and statesmanship. It is important to notice in most of these interludes the transformation of the Mankind representative into the embodiment of kingship itself - very often the 'King of England' figure - torn between good and evil, symbolized by opposite types of counsellors.

Fragments like those of The Pride of Life (late fourteenth century), Old Christmas and Good Order (1515), and The Four Cardinal Virtues (1542) suggest that the moral-religious interludes are not only concerned with Everyman since some of them also focus on the kingly figure. The longer text of the first fragment has already been discussed in the previous section. The text of the second shows how Riot and Gluttony are expelled from Old Christmas's land. It may be inferred from the extant manuscript that the Vices have taken hold of the country while the ruler is away, and have driven off Good Order. On his return, Old Christmas uses his power to exile the Vices. As for The Four Cardinal Virtues, it may be deduced that the main character - Fortitude - is a royal figure,⁵³ fallen into adversity but restored to prosperity again.

Nevertheless, these incomplete texts apparently do not place the prince in a socio-political context.⁵⁴ This is done by Godly Queen Hester (1527), in which the Bible story is moulded to reflect a contemporary situation. The proposed intention of the author is to enforce the

the lesson of humility to his feminine audience as stated on the title-page :

Come near virtuous matrons and womenkind,
Here may you learn of Hester's duty;
In all comeliness of virtue you shall find
How to behave yourself in humility.

Yet, from the beginning of the play, it is obvious that the main authorial concern is with virtue and vice in the ruling of the realm. In the opening scene, three generosi discuss kingly historical figures who, for the lack of virtue, destroyed themselves and their subjects as well. They also argue about the virtues necessary for a monarch to govern wisely. Thus the intimate relationship between ruler and realm is established, and will be emphasized throughout the play. Another important point which is explored is the choice of counsellors, King Assuerus, like a Mankind figure, stands between the good counselling of the generosi and Hester, and the bad counselling of Aman. The latter, who has succumbed to Pride, Adulation, and Ambition, is an evil influence on both king and kingdom.

The main characters bear a close resemblance to Henry VIII, his wife Catherine, and Cardinal Wolsey. The interlude is also punctuated with allusions to contemporary issues such as sumptuary laws, the abuse of pluralities, and monasticism with its system of charity, and hospitality. The Catholicism of the dramatist is betrayed by Hester's vehement defence of the 'Jews' (monks) against Aman's accusation of treason. As has been remarked : 'there is something very comical in the picture of Ahasuerus the Great King and Haman the Agagite being troubled by the question of hospitality in their dealings with the Jews'.⁵⁵ Yet this was the way found by the playwright to comment on the suppression of English monasteries in a Biblical setting.⁵⁶



If one is willing to believe the author's declared purpose on the title-page, his play is to be taken as a model for 'virtuous matrons and womenkind'. It seems odd, however, to preach virtue to the already virtuous; it seems far more valid to read his interlude as a speculum principis, in which the sovereign is alerted to the danger of choosing bad counsellors.

Magnificence (1515?), Albion Knight (1587), and Gorboduc (1562) also have their foci of concern on the princely figure, and on his wisdom in appointing the right lieutenants. They all present the ruler closely identified with the State, and torn between good and evil counsellors who pull him in opposite directions.

In Magnificence, Skelton presents a prince who leaves his wise counsellor Measure for a host of bad counsellors - Vices led by Folly and 'Fansy.' The consequences are the fall of the protagonist into physical and spiritual misery, and the subsequent ruin of his realm.⁵⁷ Recent scholarship has discarded the idea proposed by R.L.Ramsay in the introduction to his edition of the play, and endorsed by other scholars, that this interlude is a personal satire against Wolsey.⁵⁸ Critics like William O. Harris and David Bevington, who, although rejecting the idea of the Wolseyan satire, still find in this interlude an implied criticism of Henry VIII,⁵⁹ have even more recently been questioned on the basis of the date of the play. Leigh Winser has argued that Magnificence was probably written around 1504, and not around 1515 as has been generally agreed.⁶⁰ Still claiming topicality for the subject matter, he transfers the courtly satire to Henry VII's time. He affirms that 'essentially Magnifyfycence is a cautionary tale, and its good lessons may have been directed toward Henry VII's heirs who were instructed in morality by such teachers as Skelton and André'.⁶¹

After having shown how a ruler can be led to ruin by his propensity for error, and lack of discernment between good and bad advice, the dramatist offers his play as a mirror to the general audience, as can be inferred from Circumspection's words :

A myrroure incleryd is this interlude,
This lyfe inconstant for to beholde and se :
Sodenly avaunsyd, and sodenly subdude;
Sodenly Ryches, and sodenly Poverté;
Sodenly Comfort, and sodenly Adversyte;
Sodenly thus Fortune can bothe smyle and frowne,
Sodenly set up, and sodenly cast downe.
(11.2519-25)

Surprise has been expressed that this moral is not what one might expect after following the career of the princely protagonist.⁶² There is no question that the play is primarily a mirror for princes. Skelton, who had been tutor to Prince Arthur and his brother, the future King Henry VIII, also the author of Speculum Principis,⁶³ was the right man to convey similar ideas in dramatic form. Having done this, he broadens the scope of his mirror to include both the prince and the wider public beyond him. The audience, having watched the hero's fall from prosperity to poverty is taught that Fortune - like Death in The Pride of Life - does not spare any human being.

In Albion Knight, the intimate relationship between King and Kingdom is established by the fusion of both in the character of the protagonist. As the interlude only survives as a fragment, any analysis of it must be tentative. On the basis of the extant evidence, however, it is possible to see Albion as another Mankind figure wavering between good (represented by Justice), and evil (represented by Injury and Division). That ill advice is the Vice's intention can be deduced from Injury's instructions to Division :

Thou shalt teach him a wrong cross row;
And tell him best it is, after thine advice,
With mirth and prodigality him to exercise;
(p.132)

As the text breaks off shortly after this quotation, one can only speculate on how effective the ill advice would be.

This fragmentary interlude reflects a country harassed by dissension and discontent. The contemporary historical occasion has been identified as coinciding with the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁶⁴ There appears to be deep misunderstanding between social classes - commons, nobles; and clergy. There are also economic abuses and corruption of the law, while Albion remains defenceless against foreign attacks. It can be deduced that the author is addressing himself not only to the King - who seems unable to distinguish between justice and injury - but also to Englishmen of all social levels, showing them a mirror where they may see-and learn from-the evils that civil discord brings about.

Gorboduc has long been known as 'the first English tragedy', 'strongly influenced by Seneca', and some justification for treating it as an interlude seems necessary. The difficulty partly lies in the fact that the play cannot be considered an organic whole owing to its mixture of native and classical elements, political and literary parts, complicated by the problem of joint authorship.⁶⁵ Here is not the place to investigate the debatable case of the extent of Seneca's influence on English drama;⁶⁶ nevertheless, the fact is that, as modern scholarship probes into dramatic history before Gorboduc, its Englishness is more clearly revealed. Without denying its classical elements (for instance, the division into acts, the presence of the chorus, the use of messengers), the position adopted in this thesis is that Gorboduc is deeply influenced by the native tradition of the interludes. This view is supported by critics like Willard Farnham and Howard Baker who acknowledge its relationship with Respublica,⁶⁷ and by Irby B. Cauthen, the modern editor of the play, who sees it as a combination of chronicle history and morality.⁶⁸

Irving Ribner is in no doubt of the play's genre: 'in theme and purpose, and indeed in much of its structure, Gorboduc harks back to the native English morality drama'.⁶⁹ His statement seems justified when one looks at the play as a dramatic mirror; then its similarities with other interludes become more apparent.

The thematic concern of the play is the Commonwealth. Yet, whereas in Albion Knight and Respublica the interdependence between king and kingdom is represented by an allegorical figure, in Gorboduc this idea is symbolized by a historical (or at least a legendary) character. That the English Commonwealth is the focus of the theme is underlined by the great frequency with which words such as 'state', 'realm', 'rule', 'kingdom', 'govern', and 'governance' are used in the play.⁷⁰ Also the thematic emphasis on the necessity of good counsel for a wise government is expressed by the dramatic conflict centred on the three royal figures who are at the core of the action: Gorboduc, and his sons, Ferrex and Porrex. Like other dramatic princes before them they all forsake good advice, and pay for it. The King is responsible for the succession of disasters that befall the land when he makes the fatal mistake of dividing it. Further mistakes by the two new rulers bring total chaos to the realm, culminating in the most horrible crime in Tudor eyes: the people's rebellion against their lawful king. Of course, Gorboduc is not an exact reflection of contemporary times. It uses history, like Bale's King John and later history plays, as a means of throwing light on an actual political situation, and advising on what can be done to remedy it.

Unlike Magnificence, in this highly serious play the mixture of 'sentence' and 'solace' is not permitted. The authors wrote for a select audience - the play was first presented at the Inner Temple, and

then before the Queen at Whitehall ⁷¹ - with a well-known purpose: to warn the sovereign of what might happen in a realm without the provision of an orderly succession. Also, unlike Skelton's play, Sackville's and Norton's does not present a mirror to both prince and people; its mirror is held up to the Queen alone. This is confirmed not only by the development of the plot, but is also clearly stated when the chorus, at the end of Act I, recites this stanza deliberately aimed at the royal figure :

And this great king, that doth divide his land
And change the course of his descending crown
And yields the reign into his children's hand,
From blissful state of joy and great renown,
A mirror shall become to princes all
To learn to shun the cause of such a fall.
(I.2.388-93)

So far the kingly figures dealt with - Assuerus, Magnificence, Gorboduc, Ferrex and Porrex - all share Man's moral frailty. Though not wicked, they are all fallible, and prone to error, endangering the Commonwealth when they prove unable to eschew ill advice. Such, however, is not the case of King John (1538), in which the eponymous hero is an idealized figure created by John Bale. The prototype of the rex justus and a model Christian prince, King John is represented as both a national hero and a Protestant martyr. This interlude also differs from the four discussed so far in two other aspects. First, there is no identification between king and kingdom, since the latter is personified as Widow England. Second, the conflict between the Virtues and the Vices receives a different treatment. The King, being denied the human fallibility of the previous royal figures, is beyond a soul-struggle. He is definitely one of the Virtues siding with England against the papistical Vices, Sedition, Dissimulation, Private Wealth, and Usurped Power. Wavering between good and evil are the English ruling classes -

Clergy, Nobility and Civil Order.

As has already been remarked, King John uses history to make the past illuminate the present. In this interlude, however, history and religion are closely interwoven: the thematic concern focusses on both: Reformation and nationalism. Not only is Protestantism opposed to Catholicism, but England is opposed to Rome and her allied powers - members of the Catholic League. The intimate relationship between religion and politics can also be seen in the fact that the Catholic Vices quite naturally assume historical identities. These Vices/historical figures succeed in corrupting the ruling classes, and King John is left alone with Widow England and her son Commonalty. He cannot help them, since he is spiritually blind and physically weak. These facts are presented 'as in a mirror', according to the Interpreter who addresses the audience at the end of Act I (p.37) Nevertheless, with the King's death, the mirror shifts from the past to contemporary times: the focus is on England and its sixteenth-century problems. There are allusions to topical issues such as the Pilgrimage of Grace, the lack of responsibility of the bishops, and the persecution of true believers accused of being Anabaptists. Eventually Imperial Majesty and Verity bring the ruling classes to repentance, and the Catholic Vices are defeated.

King John provides not only a model for a king, but for a Protestant king. The idea of ruling wisely is equated with the task of bringing about God's Reformation in England, and resisting the power of Rome. The instrumental aspect of this dramatic mirror is twofold: not only is it a mirror for the prince - Henry VIII, and possibly Elizabeth⁷² - but for the subject as well. The play specifically endorses the orthodox Tudor doctrines of the divine right of kings, and the people's duty of passive obedience. Besides teaching the audience to be good Protestants,

it also teaches them to be loyal subjects of the Crown.

As has been shown, some interludes centre their Commonwealth themes either on fallible princely figures, or on an infallible rex justus. Another set of plays - Cambises (1561), Appius and Virginia (1564), and Damon and Pithias (1565)-makes the rex iniquus the focus of attention. These interludes, unlike those previously discussed (except Godly Queen Hester) which deal directly with England, all have their plots developed in other countries. Since they are dealing with the dangerous subject of tyranny, the foreign setting was presumably a necessary device to allow the authors to unfold their themes without getting entangled with the censor. Yet, although the plots of these interludes do not concern contemporary English reality, they are dramatizations prompted by it, reflecting the general interest in wise rule and government. Thus, they may be called 'oblique looking-glasses for England', since they also hold up mirrors for both the prince and his people based on the socio-political theories of the time. These elaborate on the final divine punishment of the tyrant, and prescribe submissive endurance for the subjects.

Cambises provides the first study of the nature of despotism. In it, the title-character is initially and briefly portrayed as a ruler who commands respect and admiration from his people. On learning that the judge Sisamnes has betrayed his trust when governing in his absence, Cambises has him sentenced to death. The justice of the punishment is acknowledged by Otian, the judge's son :

O King, to me this is a glass:
With grief in it I view
Example that unto your grace
I do not prove untrue.
(p.199)

Later, for no apparent dramatic reason, Cambises turns into a tyrant. Though the play has a Vice - Ambidexter - he cannot be held responsible for the protagonist's conversion to evil: the Vice only encourages the king to put his cruelty into action. Divine punishment descends upon Cambises when he kills himself accidentally with his own sword.

It is clearly stated at the beginning of this interlude that its main purpose is to advise the royal figure. After expounding the sages' admonitions to princes, the prologue says :

..... if that a King
Abuse his kingly seat,
His ignomy and bitter shame
In fine shall be more great.
(p.163)

The playwright holds up Cambises as a double model of princely behaviour: a positive one, when he is presented as rex justus, punishing a well-deserved crime; a negative one, when he changes into a rex iniquus, killing a host of innocent victims.

The subjects' conduct throughout the play furnishes the correct pattern for a Tudor audience. Their passive endurance illustrates the doctrine that lawful kings, even when they are tyrants, have to be tolerated; for the king, being the divine substitute on earth, can only answer to God for his actions.

Though the title-page of Appius and Virginia announces that the interlude contains 'a rare example of the virtue of Chastity by Virginia's Constancy in wishing rather to be slain at her own Father's hands than to be deflowered of the wicked Judge Appius', it also turns out to be a study of the abuse of kingly power. Thus, there are two thematic foci presenting two mirrors: one for virgins and wedded ladies as stated by the author, and another for magistrates, deduced from the action,

though unstated.

The conflict between good and evil is twofold: between Virginius's virtuous family and Appius; and, in the beginning, of the action between the good and evil sides of Appius himself. Like Cambises, Appius is not wicked ab initio; but, unlike the former, whose conversion to evil is not dramatically justified, the latter on his first appearance discloses his inner conflict between lust and honour (pp.17-19). At this point, the Vice Haphazard comes into the action, precipitating the Judge's fall and his subsequent tyrannical rule :

I king, and I kaiser, I rule and overwhelm;
I do what it please me within this my realm.
(p.20)

By wrongly using his authority, Appius leads Virginius to kill his own daughter to save her honour. It is then left to Justice and Reward, possibly divine agents, to complete the task of avenging Virginia's death.

Appius is shown to rulers and magistrates following a pattern of conduct to be avoided. His final punishment -despair, suicide, and consequent damnation -is the price ultimately paid by those who behave like him. The lesson for the feminine audience promised in the title and underlined in the prologue, is borne out by the action, and duly accounted for in the epilogue :

And by this poet's feigning here example do you take
Of Virginia's life of chastity
(pp.45-6)

There is even a third mirror provided by this interlude: what has also been illustrated is that the behaviour of Virginius and his family is a paragon of passive endurance. This is the principle - already displayed in Cambises - that not even a despot can be deposed

or punished by his subjects.

It has been suggested that 'there is a certain ambiguity in the justice of the ending; the lecherous judge dies in despair while the Father, who actually performs the killing, becomes a triumphant figure of retribution'.⁷³ There is a certain ambiguity in the comment itself, however, for it leads the reader to believe that the judge - though qualified as 'lecherous' - does not deserve punishment, whereas Virginius does. Secondly, the latter is not 'a triumphant figure of retribution' for Justice and Reward are the non-human instruments of revenge. Virginius is a man caught between two conflicting duties - as a loving father and loyal subject - and whose only possible dramatic choice, before a Tudor audience, is to kill his daughter.

Richard Edwardes's Damon and Pithias interweaves the themes of tyranny and friendship, which complement and illuminate each other. The friendship theme is acted out by the title-characters, two young philosophers who arrive in Syracuse on one of their travels. On hearing about Dionysius's oppressive rule, they have the opportunity of discoursing on the evils of despotism and comparing tyrants - hated by all - with their own situation of mutual love and trust. It is worth remarking that Dionysius, like other princely figures already seen, neglects his good counsellor (significantly named Eubolus) to rely on the parasite Carisophus, who feeds the King's fears and suspicions. When Carisophus accuses Damon of speaking against the sovereign, the action moves to the court, and the themes of friendship and tyranny become interconnected. There, Dionysius is able to witness and profit by the power of the friendship that unites Damon and Pithias :

O noble gentlemen, the immortal gods above
Hath made you play this tragedy, I think, for
my behoof,
Before this day I never knew what perfect friendship
meant.

(p.99)

It is relevant to observe that the king attributes his repentance to the friends' 'playing a tragedy' for him.

In presenting the tyrant as a negative model for princes, the author is paying a compliment to his Queen⁷⁴ when he makes Pithias his spokesman :

As things by their contraries are always best proved,
How happy then are merciful princes, of their
people beloved!
Having sure friends everywhere, no fear doth touch
them.

(p.30)

Like the other writers of 'tyrant plays', Edwardes also prescribes modes of behaviour for his audience. When Carisophus, to provoke Damon, suggests that some subject should get rid of Dionysius, the virtuous philosopher stands back in horror :

My friend, the gods forbid so cruel a thing
That any man should lift up his sword against
the King!
Or seek other means by death him to prevent,
Whom to rule on earth the mighty gods have sent!

(p.35)

In John Pickering's Horestes (1567) the Greek myth is woven into the native didactic tradition, and the result is an interlude which focusses on the problems of personal revenge, usurpation and tyranny.⁷⁵ The hero is the son of Clytemnestra, who killed his father helped by her lover, Egistus. Horestes is also the prince barred from his lawful inheritance which is held by the criminals. A murderer and a usurper, Egistus is also an oppressor, judging from the Common's address to Horestes when the latter has regained the crown : 'We are O King easyd of the yoke, which we have so desiard'. (1.1352). The hero's mission is twofold: he must avenge his father and claim his own kingdom. In order to accomplish this, two horrible deeds must be perpetrated: he must kill his own mother and her lover, and engage his

own country in civil war. To justify Horestes's matricide, the author makes him a victim of the Vice, Revenge, who claims to be a messenger of the gods; but the ambiguity of the righteousness of the hero's crime is left unresolved.⁷⁶ Yet, if Horestes' filial behaviour proposes no clear-cut model, there is no doubt about the correctness of his political action in deposing Egistus. This action - since the hero was the lawful heir to the throne - would certainly meet with the approval of the audience for 'though Elizabethans were admonished to endure a tyrant who had succeeded lawfully to his throne, they were counselled not to tolerate any usurper who might seize the crown'.⁷⁷

Eventually, the 'mirror for princes' - emphasized by lectures on statemanship and military statecraft - fuses with the 'mirror for subjects' in Truth's lesson on the necessity of political amity, and the evils of civil strife. And then the audience is alerted to the usefulness of the ethical message which has been dramatically conveyed:

As this storye here hath, made open unto ye,
Which yf ithave byn marked much prophet may aryse!
(11.1394-5)

In these 'oblique looking glasses for England' the emphasis is on the aspect of the metaphor as 'example'. Owing to the writers' interest in the political stability of the Commonwealth, they consistently aim at prescribing desirable patterns of behaviour for both the sovereign and his subjects. Nevertheless, in all these four socio-political interludes there is the usual juxtaposition of seriousness and mirth, the latter allowing incursions into contemporary life and customs. The Vices' comedy - Ambidexter in Cambises, Haphazard in Appius and Virginia, and Revenge in Horestes - as well as the episode with Grim, a collier from Croydon, in Damon and Pithias, are responsible for the Englishness

of certain scenes in the foreign setting of these plays, as will be discussed in the next chapter. It must be remarked here, however, that the Vices' countertheme has been modified: its unfolding no longer shows the protagonist's temptation and life-in-sin in a usually English social environment. What it does show is the Vices spreading their evil influence on both the higher and the lower ranks of society.

2.2.1 The Class Structure

Another thematic preoccupation of the socio-political interludes is society's class structure in connexion with the ruling and welfare of the English Commonwealth. Like most of the plays discussed so far, these dramatizations of the glass metaphor emphasize both its expressive and instrumental aspects in varying measure. It is worth observing, however, that in order to deal with such a delicate issue, the authors of these interludes - like those of the 'tyrant plays' - find ways of treating it indirectly. Thus, with the exception of Gentleness and Nobility (1527), the allegory device is employed by Heywood in the Play of the Weather (1528), the foreign setting device by Medwall in Fulgens and Lucres (1497) and by Wilson in The Cobbler's Prophecy (1590), and the historical past device by the anonymous author of A Knack to Know a Knave (1592). An important contemporary social document is The Pedlar's Prophecy (1561) which, among its many topics, includes a criticism of the higher classes represented by landlords, priests, justices of the peace and magistrates, and which thus contains some relevant material for the present discussion, although the diversity of its concerns prevents it from being here treated in detail.

Fulgens and Lucres and Gentleness and Nobility deal with a favourite medieval and early Renaissance topic concerning the superiority

of personal virtue and individual achievement over birth and inheritance. The rivalry between the vicious patrician (Publius Cornelius) and the virtuous plebeian (Gaius Flaminius) has been generally interpreted as a political comment on the competition between the old aristocracy and the bourgeois 'new men' at Henry VII's court.⁷⁸ Even without such topicality, the interlude can be seen as reflecting the beginning of the gradual slackening of the rigidity of the class structure, the questioning of aristocratic privileges simply based on birth, and the growing desire of commoners to share in the government of the Commonwealth. The patrician's vices are so many that they overshadow the nobility of his ancestry, and his inherited riches. On the other hand, the plebeian's virtues - among which is his service to the State - are such as to make him a true nobleman. Lucre, doing justice to what is expected of her virtue and education, prefers the latter. As will be discussed in the next chapter, Medwall, through the skilful handling of the frame structure and deliberate use of anachronisms, allows his audience to perceive that it is their own social context which is being focussed on.

The moral lesson of the play would not be striking if one did not know its auspices. It was specially ordered for and performed at a banquet in Cardinal Morton's Lambeth Palace presumably in honour of the Flemish and Spanish ambassadors.⁷⁹ To undercut the potential effrontery of his message to an aristocratic audience, Medwall employs several techniques. First of all, he sets his play in imperial Rome, distant in time and place. Secondly, he makes Lucre explain that, though she prefers Flaminius, she does not despise Cornelius's noble blood. Thirdly, he lets it be known that the Senate is unanimous in approving of Lucre's choice. And lastly, he provides a comic subplot acted out by the servants

'A' and 'B'. Contrary to what has been thought, this subplot is not merely to entertain the audience and add extra matter to lengthen the play to fit the occasion of the banquet.⁸⁰ It plays an important part in defusing the impact of Lucre's preference. In commenting on it 'A' and 'B' confess to be baffled by it, and 'B' closes the discussion by asking the audience :

Is not the question
Of nobleness now fully defined
As it may be so by a woman's mind?
(pt.II.884-6)

That the interlude was meant to be a mirror for the nobility is explicitly stated at the end; 'B's words deserve to be quoted at some length :

That all the substance of this play
Was done specially therefore,
Not only to make folk mirth and game,
But that such as be gentlemen of name
May be somewhat moved
By this example, for to eschew
The way of vice and favour virtue.
For sin is to be reprov'd
More in them, for the degree,
Than in other persons such as be
Of poor kin and birth.
(pt.II.890-9)

The theme of Gentleness and Nobility is stated on the title-page which reads : 'A dialoge between the marchant the knyght and the plowman dysputing who is a verey gentyلمان and who is a noble man and how men shuld come to auctoryte/compilid in maner of an enterlude with divers toys and gestis addyd therto to make mery pastyme and disport'. The theme of true gentleness and nobility is expanded to contain not only the claims of three different classes of society but also to include the touchy issue of 'how men shuld come to auctoryte'. Perhaps because of the nature of the subject matter or because of its rhetorical treatment, the setting of the interlude is not explicitly alluded to. Yet, the debate - mainly through the outspoken Ploughman, a traditional English literary figure - deals with problems which can be identified with those

of contemporary English society.

Whereas the Knight boasts of his ancient lineage and his ancestors' role in serving the nation in times of war and peace, the Merchant stresses his present contribution to the prosperity of the Commonwealth. The Ploughman, however, proud of his self-sufficiency and sure of his true inner nobility, criticizes the Establishment very strongly. Soon both the Knight and the Merchant join forces against him, anticipating the resentment felt against the Pedlar, another common man sharply critical of his society and his betters :

Thinke you it doth not grieve us at the harts?
To have a Tinker or a Cobler to minister to us:
(The Pedlar's Prophecy, ll.1339-40)

The Ploughman, however, outargues his antagonists by putting forth his grievances with powerful reasoning. He questions lineage, class exploitation, inherited property, and above all, established authority. Yet, though he can insult the socially superior Knight and display very unorthodox behaviour by striking him, like a good Tudor subject the Ploughman cannot envisage the possibility of rebellion:

Therefore no remedy is that I can see
For yvell men that be in auctoryte
But let them alone tyll God wyll send
A tyme tyll our governours may intend
Of all enormytees the reformacyon
And bring in theyr handis the rod of coreccyon.
(ll.1006-11)

The Knight and the Merchant, when left alone to submit their opinion to the audience, prove to be in agreement in spite of their former differences. Riches are their common bond, and they try to justify their class privileges by appealing to custom, authority, God's will, in an obvious contrast to the Ploughman's arguments based on 'good reason playn'.

The Philosopher appears to summarize the conclusions in the epilogue. It is worth noticing that this authorial spokesman endorses the Ploughman's

radical view that rulers and governors should come to authority not by inheritance but by their qualities, and should continue in office only so long as they keep their virtue :

So virtue is ever the thyng pryncypall
That gentylnes and noblenes doth insue
Then these hedys rulers and governours all
Shuld come therto be cause of theyr vertue
And in auctoryte they ought not contynue
Except they be good men dyscrete and wyse,
And have a love and zeale unto Justyce.
(11.1136-42)

And he brings the interlude to a close by presenting it as a mirror for all :

Wherfore Sovereygns all that here present be
Now marke well these reasons here brought in
Both agayns men of hye and of low degre
For thys intent only to rebuke syn.
(11.1143-6)

Yet, after the authorial endorsement of the Ploughman's most challenging ideas, one is left wondering whether his mirror is for men of 'hye degre' alone.

The thematic concern of John Heywood's The Play of the Weather is again the conflict among the different social classes plus the impossibility of the ruler satisfying every faction of society. The acknowledged source of the play is a passage from Lucian's Icaro enipponus,⁸¹ which explains the humanistic treatment of the theme. As Kenneth W. Cameron has persuasively argued, the play's court setting is meant to reflect that of Tudor England, and 'Jupiter' is intended to be a complimentary title for Henry VIII.⁸²

The god comes down to earth to hear the complaints about the weather by different representatives of English society. All of them - the Gentleman, the Merchant, the Ranger, the Water-miller, The Wind-miller, the Gentlewoman, the Washerwoman, and the Boy - ask for the weather to

suit only his or her preferences, disregarding the others. The god tries to make the mortals realize their class selfishness when he tells them

Each of you sued to have continual
Such weather as his craft only doth require,
All weathers in all places if men all times might hire,
Who could live by other?
(p.133)

After having presented his rational arguments, Jupiter ends by resorting to his own divine authority, telling the petitioners that to decide about the weather stands 'perpetually in the power of our hand' (p.133), and decrees, in words which are an endorsement of the doctrine of royal absolution :

Wherefore we will the whole world to attend
Each sort on such weather as for them doth fall,
Now one, now other, as liketh us to send.
(p.133)

Unlike Fulgens and Lucres, Gentleness and Nobility, and The Pedlar's Prophecy, the interlude does not show any authorial preference for a particular class. Each is mockingly criticised by the Vice Merry Report as he sees its representatives defending their own private interests. Bearing this in mind, plus the unfolding of the theme, and the date of the play - an epoch of great tension preceding the Reformation - it is possible to read as its message an appeal for social solidarity and political unity. Thus, Heywood's play proposes modes of conduct to a whole nation.

The thematic concern with the class structure and its relationship with the welfare of the State is also taken up by two interludes of the last decade of the century: Robert Wilson's The Cobbler's Prophecy (1590)

and the anonymous A Knack to Know a Knave (1592). Both plays support the view already displayed in Gentleness and Nobility and The Pedlar's Prophecy that the humbler classes can and should have a voice in the government. The two first plays also project the fantasy of the common people who see themselves as companions to kings and saviours of the Commonwealth.

Wilson sets his play both in Olympus and in Boeotia to provide the necessary detachment and self-protection to deal with the problem of the class struggle in England. A cross-section of society is represented by the Courtier, the Country Gentleman, the Soldier, the Scholar, the Cobbler and his wife. The Vice of the play is Contempt (alias Content) 'who stands for the envy and dissension among the several states and for the resultant turmoil and injustice in the realm'.⁸³ Yet, he does not have much to do in the development of the story, as he is not shown corrupting anybody, and the mirth is mainly provided by the Cobbler. Contempt is already presented on good terms with the Courtier, the Country Gentleman, and even with the Scholar, though the latter knows his real nature. It is only when the Vice tries to ingratiate himself with the Soldier that he is rejected - which is the clue to the Soldier's virtue.

The anti-aristocratic tone of the play is obvious. The villains - the Courtier who tries to kill his sovereign, and the Country Gentleman who does not care to defend his country - are representatives of the upper classes offering nothing to the Commonwealth for the privileges they receive. The Scholar, ineffectual at first, comes to grips with his responsibility and joins the professional soldier and the ordinary citizen, in their defence of the ruler and the realm. The playwright clearly

opposes the Courtier and the Country Gentleman as negative models of civic behaviour to the positive ones provided by the Soldier and the Scholar. This is illustrated by the Duke's final words :

Then with due praise to heaven let us depart,
Our state supported both by Armes and Art.
(ll.1695-6)

The case of the Cobbler ('Raph') and his wife (Zelota) is more complicated. Though they act positively, one has to remember that they are only instruments of the gods. It is possible that the author may be pointing out the divine preference for the common man by choosing the Cobbler and his wife for no less a task than saving the ruler's life, and helping in the defence of the State against foreign invasion.

A Knack to Know a Knave, though still focussing on the class structure, does not depict the different classes in conflict but in moral decay. Through the device of the historical past, the author makes topical comments, and voices his social criticism. Here it is worth pointing out that in The Pedlar's Prophecy, the protagonist boldly warns his Queen of the sovereign's responsibility for the morality of the realm:

....though Princes themselves be good,
Yet are they like at Gods hand to be punished:
For at their hands, God will require their subjects blood,
Which through their sufferance into sin hath perished.
(ll.1459-62)

King Edgar seems to be aware of this; determined to eradicate the evils permeating English society and advised by his good counsellor Bishop Dunstan, he gives Honesty, a countryman, the task of discovering the 'caterpillars' that corrupt the Commonwealth. The four sons of the Bailiff of Hexham - the Courtier, the Priest, the Farmer, and the Coneycatcher - represent the different sinful social classes. All of them are declared enemies of the State - exploiting the poor, practising

usury, exporting valuable English products in short supply. Religion is particularly satirized through the figure of the Priest, who uses the word of God for his own personal financial profit.

Though this interlude criticizes several levels of society, authorial sympathy is clearly with the lower classes. Like Wilson in The Cobbler's Prophecy, the author of A Knack to Know a Knave exploits the popular myth of the lower classes participating actively in the socio-political life of the Commonwealth. The fact that a plain countryman can advise the king and actually help him to extirpate corruption from the State confers great moral authority on the character. This is confirmed by the fact that, in the end, King Edgar gives Honesty full power to dispose of the criminals, some of them being his superiors on the social ladder.

As is to be expected it is left for Honesty to point out the moral lesson to the audience. As a matter of fact, it is really a threat directed to all those 'who will damn themselves for lucre's sake' :

I warn you all that use such subtle villainy
Beware lest you, like these, be found by Honesty.
Take heed, I say for if I catch you once,
Your bodies shall be meat for crows,
And the devil shall have your bones.
(p.591)

2.2.3 The Uses and Abuses of Wealth

In the second half of the sixteenth century when most interludes convey commentaries on the social and political conditions of the times, some playwrights concentrate their attention on the uses and abuses of wealth.

It is worth remembering that wealth and its incidental evils -

avarice, ambition, greed, corruption, idleness, and economic oppression - had already been touched upon by moral-religious interludes earlier in the century. In The Castle of Perseverance after the Virtues have defeated the Vices when the latter assault the castle, it is Covetise who succeeds in luring Mankind out of it, promising the hero a wealthy life for the rest of his days. (ll.2531-556). The protagonist of Everyman, is informed by his Goods :

My condition is man's soul to kill,
If I save one, a thousand I do spill;
(ll.442-3)

In these early plays the desire for riches is seen as a personal evil, the most powerful obstacle to hinder Man's soul from attaining salvation. Yet, it is worth pointing out that even in the context of the otherworldliness of these interludes, it is not wealth itself which is bad, but its misuse. As Goods tells Everyman,

But if thou had me loved moderately during,
As to the poor to give part of me
Then shouldest thou not in this dolor be
Nor in this great sorrow and care.
(ll.431-4)

In the above-mentioned interludes, the love of wealth is seen as a danger to Man's soul; in the interludes which focus on the class structure of the realm, the inordinate possession of money is viewed as a danger to the Commonwealth. Treated as a social evil, the misuse of wealth is part of the criticism which aims at the upper classes. For example, riches are responsible for the sloth which prevails among the rich. Besides being a personal sin it is also a social one since the lazy members of the moneyed classes are seen as parasites of the Commonwealth, living on other people's labour. Several other criticisms are easy to find.

The misuse of money is a characteristic trait of the patrician

Publius Cornelius in Fulgens and Lucres. He spends lavishly, and his prodigality is approved by his servant 'B', but obviously with no authorial endorsement :

Why should he those goods spare
Since he laboured never therefore?
(pt.I 11.706-7)

In Gentleness and Nobility the Knight is guilty of idleness, and his greed for wealth is intimately connected with the distresses of the poor. The Ploughman complains that

.... these men that be of gret possessyons
Unto their blod have such affeccyons
Yf any land like them that lyeth nye them
Of their pore neighbors they wyll distroy them
Or by extort meanys they wyll them compell
The land for half the worth to them to sell.
(11.657-62)

In The Play of the Weather, John Heywood criticizes aristocratic idleness through the figures of the Gentleman who asks for good weather to be able to go hunting (p.102), and the Gentlewoman who asks for temperate weather so that gentlewomen's lives can be 'merry out of measure' (p.121). The Cobbler's Prophecy shows the Courtier boasting of the nobility's idle pastimes (11.265-8), and the Country Gentleman living on the exploitation of the common people's labour (11.298-305). And, finally, the author of A Knack to Know a Knave, makes unsatiated seeking for money responsible for the moral decay of different levels of society.

The uses and abuses of wealth are the main concern of a series of plays such as Respublica (1553), Wealth and Health (1554), Enough is as Good as a Feast (1560), Liberality and Prodigality (1567), The Tide Tarrieth No Man (1576), All for Money (1577), and The Three Ladies of London (1582).

Respublica, the only obviously Catholic interlude written after the Reformation, focusses on the national prosperity and its decay during

the last few years (Edward VI's reign: 1547 - 1553). As has been observed, 'the play does not concern itself in the least with doctrine but mainly with the pockets of the people'.⁸⁴ This interlude is a social document denouncing the greed of the Protestant Vices (significantly led by Avarice), and the subsequent impoverishment of Widow Respublica - England - and her People. In her credulity, the Widow trusts her counsellors Avarice (alias Policy), Insolence (alias Authority), Oppression (alias Reformation) and Adulation (alias Honesty) who exploit People in every possible way. He complains to Respublica of shortage of commodities, rising prices, low wages, increasing misery, but to no avail for her counsellors ask for time to improve the decayed national economy. It is only when Nemesis - avowedly Queen Mary - appears with the feminine Virtues (Misericordia, Veritas, Justitia and Pax) that Respublica is rescued from the Vices, and her former prosperity is restored. People immediately profit by it:

And ich am able since to buy me a new coat,
And I's thank God 'ch 'ave in my purse a zilver groat.
Iwis· ich could not zo zay these zix years afore:
(11.1688-90).

By emphasizing economic rather than moral decay under Edward's Protestant Protectors, the dramatist achieves a double aim: not only does he point out the well-known enrichment of Protestant noblemen through their shares in the distribution of the Catholic Church's possessions, but he also simplifies very complex economic problems by attributing them entirely to Protestant greed.

The instrumental aspect of this dramatic mirror is extremely attractive, for a return to Catholicism is identified with the improvement of national wealth. In the end, the character People is already showing signs of prosperity, and the Vice Avarice, 'the plague of the Commonwealth', has been expelled from England thanks to Queen Mary's rule.

Thus, the audience is taught that the way to wealth is through Catholicism.

Wealth and Health is likewise concerned with national prosperity. It develops the idea that Wealth, Health, and Liberty are the pillars of the Commonwealth so long as they act in conformity with Good Remedy's rules :

My authority is given to me, most special,
To maintain you three in this realm to be.
(pp.292-3)

It is relevant that the highly patriotic Good Remedy, though committed to all three 'pillars', emphasizes the importance of Wealth :

Many other realmes, for our great wealth, shames
That they dare not presume, nor they dare not be bold
To strive again England, or any right withhold.
(p.292)

Further on, when the Flemish Hance (War) suggests that Wealth has gone to another country, Good Remedy protests vehemently : 'Wealth is here in England, and Wealth still I trust we shall have'. (p.300) Nevertheless, Wealth and his friends are deceived by the Vices Ill.Will and Shrewd Wit, and decadence soon follows.

The authorial intention is to indicate that Wealth, Health, and Liberty to bring happiness have to be used with moderation and prudence. Besides this ethical lesson for the general audience, it seems valid also to detect a warning to the ruler, - Queen Mary, in spite of the final prayer to Queen Elizabeth, possibly a later addition.⁸⁵ Due to the importance given to Wealth as closely associated with England, and the expulsion of War by Good Remedy, one may see the author presenting the latter as an example to the Queen to keep England's wealth by abstaining from war.

The correct attitude that Englishmen should adopt towards money is

conveyed in The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality. In spite of its title, the interlude turns out to be a contention between the wasteful gallant Prodigality and the avaricious countryman Tenacity for the keeping of Money, Lady Fortune's son. The author reveals the directness of his warning against the vices of the time - prodigality and avarice - by setting the story clearly in the native and contemporaneous social environment. Showing how both extremes should be avoided, he firstly presents Money ill used by Prodigality, who does not spare him, and then by Tenacity, who keeps him prisoner, with tragic consequences for both contenders. The right way of using money is demonstrated by Liberality - an idealized image of Elizabeth, not famous for her generosity - who rewards a faithful soldier for his service in the war, and rebukes a courtier who asks for an undeserved preferment.

The interlude is a general plea for moderation in the management of wealth. It is also an appeal to the ruler to recompense the deserving servants of the State not only as a matter of justice but also as a matter of policy, and as a means of keeping the prince and the realm more secure. This is indicated by Liberality when she says :

Where any well deserve, and are rewarded well,
There Prince and people both, in safety sure do dwell.
Where ~~that~~ truly serves, hath ~~not~~ing for his paine,
More hearts are lost, then pecks of gold can ransome
home agayne

(11.306-9)

Thus, it may be said that the author is instructing both the Queen and her subjects on how to spend money wisely.

Like The Trial of Treasure which presents two parallel biographies of the main characters, Just and Lust, Enough is as Good as a Feast presents the different paths simultaneously followed by Heavenly Man and Worldly Man. Whereas in the first interlude wealth is intimately bound

up with personal pleasure and sin,

Where most wealth is, and most delectation,
There Lust is commonly of most estimation;
(p.210)

in the second, wealth - because it generates ambition - is seen as bringing harm to the Commonwealth. This is the way Contentation sees it, commenting on the greed for riches :

For we have seen of late days this canker pestilent
Corrupting our realm to our utter decay,
Ambition, I mean, which chiefly doth reign,
Amongst those who should have been example to other.
(11.240-3)

The theme is mainly acted out by Worldly Man who falls into the snares of the Vice Covetousness and his compeers in an English setting as suggested by the many topographical allusions. His greed has grave social consequences, for he oppresses his Tenant, cheats his Hireling, and starves his Servant. These poor people complain to no avail, for the law is on the side of the rich, and they can only count on divine retribution. This comes in the figure of God's Plague who strikes Worldly Man. Satan is only too happy to carry the sinner off to hell on his own back.

The lesson is mainly aimed at the covetous rich classes, and it is the Vice Covetousness himself who strikingly points out the moral :

This is the end always where I begin,
For I am the root of all wickedness and sin.
I never rest to teach and instruct men to evil.
Till I bring them both body and soul to the devil
As we have done this worldly man here as you see.
(11.1418-22)

It is worth noticing, however, that in spite of denouncing the greedy upper class oppressors, the author is careful to present to the commoners the same model of passive endurance found in other interludes. Like Trust in her already-quoted speech (The Trial of Treasure, p. 23) Heavenly Man preaches content and observance of social degree to the people, (11.260-6) using exactly the same words.⁸⁶ This had already been taught by Humility in the sixty-line fragment of Temperance and

Humility (1535), praying to God to banish Disobedience from England
so that

.... every creature may knowe his degre
And ever to dwell with Humylite
Than Grace wyll folowe vyce to exchewe
And every man to his maister wolde be trewe.
(11.47-50)

Side by side with social and economic criticism, playwrights thus stress
the absolute necessity of a rigidly hierarchical society.

To expose the social evils derived from excessive greed in England
is also the thematic concern of George Wapull in The Tide Tarrieth No Man.
The double meaning of the title corresponds to both the theme and the
countertheme of the play. Its bad sense, as explained in the prologue
is that

.... each man doth take the time of his gain
Although the same be to others great pain.
(11.20-21)

Since the theme is negative, it is developed through the
machinations of the main Vice who dominates most of the action. He
instills the venomous idea of carpe diem in seekers of wealth, position
and pleasure. The Vice's name - Courage - contrary to what its modern
meaning may suggest is indicative of the power of his influence on his
victims.⁸⁷ Very soon he and his companions - Hurting Help, Painted
Profit, and Feigned Furtherance - are dictating the misuses of money and
economic abuses perpetrated by members of the different social classes.
That they are representatives of contemporary English society is clearly
indicated by reference to topical issues and native places. Greediness is
a dishonest businessman who can only think in terms of financial profit;
No-Good-Neighbourhood is a greedy landlord who exploits his tenants;
Willing-to-Win Worship, a would-be courtier, cheated out of his land and
possessions by a moneylender and his confederates; Wantonness, a

frivolous wife, who makes her husband waste his money on the pleasures she craves; finally, there is also the figure of a Debtor who goes to prison because he cannot afford to bribe the Serjeant of the Counter.

The countertheme - the idea also expressed in the prologue that the proverb may be applied in another, better, sense - is that

There is time to ask grace, this may not be denied,
Of thy sinful life so greatly abused.
Let not that time, then, be refused
For that tide most certain will tarry no man.
(11.45 -8)

This idea is developed later in the play when Faithful Few and Christianity save Wastefulness (the husband of Wantonness) from Despair and impending suicide; he repents, and promises to lead a new life. As for Greediness, being too hardened to repent, he is reported to have died in the grip of Despair.

The patterns of conduct provided are neatly separated by the double interpretation of the title proverb as illustrated by the action of the play. Its bad sense - the theme - holding up negative mirrors of behaviour, and its good sense - the countertheme - furnishing the positive ones.

The exposure of social abuses in England bred by excessive greed continues in Thomas Lupton's All for Money. As the title suggests, the thematic focus is on money, and the playwright treats it in five different dramatic scenes⁸⁸ - a series of tableaux moralisés. As the moral thesis contained in the title is mainly developed in the fourth scene, the others seem structurally unconnected, mere reverberations of the moral point proposed in the prologue:

Money ill-used is the devil's snare and hook
Whereby many are brought to endless damnation
But the godly do bestow it to their salvation.
(11.75-7)

Nevertheless, T. W. Craik has shown that the different scenes actually illustrate the theme of money and the interrelated ones of pleasure, sin, and damnation, which makes the structure of the play more artistically coherent than it seems to be at a first reading.⁸⁹

The first scene is a complaint by Theology, Science, and Art that all professions have been perverted by greed. Their conclusion is :

Then if money bring pleasure, pleasure brings forth sin,
And sin brings damnation unless God's grace we win.
(11.92-3)

This comment is visually illustrated by the following scene, in which Money 'vomits' Pleasure who 'vomits' Sin who 'vomits' Damnation upon the stage. The third scene is a debate on the relationship between money, learning, and happiness carried out by four characters with the suggestive names of Learning-With-Money, Learning-Without-Money, Money-Without-Learning, and Neither-Money-Nor-Learning. The fourth and central scene of the play exemplifies the evils of money ill used, besides providing a strong criticism of English law-courts.

It deals with the abuses of judicial power by the judge All-for-Money and with the corruption of the petitioners as well. These are representatives of several layers of English society, and use their money either to escape deserved punishment or to achieve their sinful ends. Gregory Graceless is a thief who wants to escape from the gallows; William-With-The-Two-Wives is a bigamous countryman who bribes the Judge to get rid of his first wife; Nichol-Never-Out-Of-Law is a rich franklin who covets his poor neighbour's land, and needs 'legal' assistance; Lawrence Livingless, an ignorant Catholic priest out of a job since the Reformation, who asks for redress; Mother Croote wants to marry a much younger man, and buys a falsely witnessed betrothal. Besides these, there is the reported suit of an absentee: a young woman

who sends money to the court to be absolved of having murdered her own illegitimate child. All these suitors get what they want thanks to their 'lord gold'. Yet, Moneyless-And-Friendless, being unable to bribe the Judge, is sentenced to the gallows for having got hold of a few rags and clothes. His comment sums up what the whole scene shows :

God have mercy on us! Without a man have money
He shall be cast away for a trifle, we see.
But the thieves and robbers with money be stored
Escape well enough, but the poor thieves be hanged.
(11.1009-12)

It is true that the petitioners go free from punishment, but Lupton manages to suggest that the corrupt judge's end is foreseeable. The final scene of the play, which presents Damnation carrying off Judas and Dives for their evil deeds deriving from their greed, indicates that the magistrate will have the same punishment.

Like the author of The Tide Tarrieth No Man, Lupton shows the corruption bred by the love of money and its abuse on several levels of English society. It is not surprising, then, to see Godly Admonition directly addressing the whole audience :

Therefore I am come, called Godly Admonition,
Warning you to repent before your breath is gone,
For fear you bring yourself to endless damnation
Now cast away your pride and also the love of money,
For fear you shall not when you would, as lately you
did see.
(11.1440-2, 1445-6)

The dramatists' preoccupation with the widespread greed of the members of the Commonwealth culminates with Robert Wilson's The Three Ladies of London. It presents London - and the whole of England by extension - succumbing entirely to the evils produced by money. The play 'is purely an economic document in theatrical form severely arraigining the materialism of the day'.⁹⁰

The theme is announced on the title page - 'Wherein is Notable declared and set foorth, how by the meanes of Lucar, Love and Conscience is so corrupted, that the one is married to Dissimulation, the other fraught with all abomination'. Besides corrupting Love and Conscience, Lady Lucre, assisted by the Vices (Usury, Simony, Fraud and Dissimulation), by the dishonest Italian Mercatore, and by the greed or pusillanimity of Englishmen, works for the ruin of the Commonwealth. Through Lady Lucre's career several contemporary problems are revealed: the corruption of the English Church represented by Sir Peter Pleaseman who is willing to change from Catholic to Protestant for pecuniary profit; the abuses of international trade which exchanges vital English commodities for frivolous luxuries; the decay of hospitality, and its social consequences; and other related problems such as high rents, low wages, and the unfair competition of foreign labour. Usury, who killed Hospitality, tries to kill both Good-Neighbourhood and Liberality. The love of money corrupts all trades, and the law as well, judging by the Lawyer's comment :

Tush, sir, I can make black white, and white black again.
Tut, he that will be a lawyer must have a thousand ways
to feign.

(p.283)

The malpractices inveighed against are numerous, and Wilson's targets are the most representative sections of English society who, conniving with foreigners, have transformed London/England into a den of corruption. The only virtuous exceptions are Sincerity, a university-trained theologian who finds only unworthy Christians and profitless parishes, and his cousin Simplicity, an ex-miller, who becomes Lady Love's servant. In the end, Justice prevails, and the three sinful ladies are duly punished.

This playwright, who calls his interlude 'a Perfect Patterne for all Estates to look into', in portraying the evils originating from greed,

addresses his ethical message to all levels of English society. Though his moral indignation conveys a rather unflattering picture of the socio-economic context,⁹¹ the author holds up his mirror with hopeful expectations :

Knowing that the best of us all may amend:
Which God grant to his good will and pleasure,
That we be not corrupted with the unsatiate
 desire of vanishing earthly treasure ;
For covetousness is the cause of 'resting man's
 conscience:
Therefore restrain thy lust, and thou shalt shun
 the offence.

(p.370)

It seems that Wilson thought that his criticism of London had proved effective for, in his next interlude, The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (1588), the social scene he depicts is completely different. The Vices are repelled by the inhabitants of the city, the three ladies redeemed, and eventually married to three London lords - Pomp, Policy and Pleasure. These valiant knights are portrayed as the bulwarks of England against the Spaniards, who are thoroughly defeated. The historical moment may account for the modification in the playwright's attitude: the anger displayed in the previous interlude has given place to patriotism. This dramatic mirror reflects the national feeling of Armada year, when it was necessary for all Englishmen to be united to face the enemy, and there was no room for social or economic criticism. Exceptionally, Londoners are not told to amend their sins, but exhorted to keep their virtues. An ideal glass is set before their eyes where they can all see themselves are brave soldiers and

Citizens born and courtiers brought up!
for they that be born in London are half courtiers, before
they see the court: for fineness and mannerliness.

(p.404)

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The broad socio-political image furnished by the interludes focusses on the education of youth, and on the Commonwealth.

The upbringing of young people appears as an important issue throughout the Tudor age, judging by the playwrights' constant pre-occupation with it. The Christian viewpoint regards education as primarily moral-religious, though treating its ill consequences as a social phenomenon. These pedagogical interludes usually reflect the environment which contributes to young people's corruption though it is not always explicitly stated as England. The humanistic treatment of the theme, concentrating on the intellectual aspect of education and infused with romantic elements, does not pay much attention to the social context. What all these interludes have in common is that they all provide models of behaviour, although these are less clear in those plays influenced by the Calvinistic belief in predestination. They make their message locally applicable, addressing it to the parents and children of the audience.

The interludes focussing on the Commonwealth are specifically concerned with English reality, in spite of the fact that some are not so obviously illustrative of their times. Yet, they can all be read as reflecting the socio-political scene with varying degrees of topicality.

Several plays deal with the problem of kingship, and, most of them are mirrors for both princes and subjects. Presenting the royal figure in different roles - as a fallible human being, rex justus, or rex iniquus - and stressing the interdependence of ruler and realm, the authors propose models of princely behaviour. They also instruct subjects on the correct attitude towards the sovereign: unswerving loyalty to a wise ruler, and passive endurance of a tyrant.

Tudor class structure is examined with critical eyes and conservative views. Some playwrights, though subscribing to the idea of a

hierarchical society, do not hesitate in condemning the higher classes for their sins, among which is the exploitation of the poor. Others can be equally critical of all sections of society, accusing them of not performing their pre-ordained functions correctly. As the structure of society grows less rigidly hierarchical, the common man begins to question the tradition of aristocratic rule, and is portrayed in wish-fulfilment figures of counsellors of the prince, and active supporters of the Commonwealth. The solutions offered to class conflicts are always moral, never political or economic. The dramatists' prescribed guide of conduct is essentially moulded by the conservatism of Tudor socio-political theories. These postulate the virtuous performance of one's duties in all levels of society, but condemn any sort of measure which can disturb the concept of social degree.

Other interludes attempt to show that the increasing economic prosperity of England leads to inadequate attitudes towards money and specifically to avarice or prodigality. Though reflecting the common idea that wealth itself is no evil, a few playwrights are unanimous in condemning its misuses. They inveigh against the growing materialism of the day which fosters economic abuses, and expose a series of social problems caused by greed for money. Again the advice offered to remedy the socio-economic situation is moral: money should not be squandered, or avariciously kept, but moderately used; it should be employed to provide the needy and the poor with relief and hospitality.

Besides being conveyed by the major themes mentioned above, the socio-political image of England is also projected by minor themes whose repeated appearance counterbalances the lack of a separate treatment. The prominent secondary topics can be grouped under the headings of sartorial extravagance, anti-foreign sentiment, the urban underworld, and

anti-feminism. As they are closely connected with the portrayal of social types and humorous characters, they will be dealt with in Chapter III.

In most interludes discussed so far there is the mixture of serious and comic matter. Yet, in all these mirth is ancillary to the seriousness of the theme, as one would expect in the work of writers dedicated to the didactic concept of art. A few interludes, however, dispensed with seriousness altogether, and they will be examined in the next section.

3. The Farcical Image

Eugene M. Waith has observed that 'it was almost impossible for anyone writing on the subject of comedy in the Renaissance to avoid the metaphor of the mirror. It all went back, apparently, to Donatus (one of the Siamese twins of Terentian commentary Evanthius- and - Donatus), who credited Cicero with the statement that comedy was speculum consuetudinis, the mirror of custom, and Livius Andronicus, the father of Roman comedy, with the statement that it was quotidianae vitae speculum, 'the mirror of daily life'.⁹²

The farcical image is then reproduced in the mirror of customs and daily life which is comedy. Yet, at this point, it is worth remembering Ian Watt's idea that literature reflects society 'in varying degrees of indirectness and selectivity'. The comic mirror, particularly, distorts and exaggerates in order to fulfil the demands of laughter. Bearing this in mind, it is possible cautiously to consider the farcical image of England furnished by the interludes, and to try to evaluate their representations of English life and manners.

3.1. Minor Incursions into English Daily Life

As has already been indicated, the presentation of English customs and daily life - generally a part of the countertheme - is a constant

minor topic of most interludes. The usual mixture of moral and merry matter allows the comic mirror to be held up to everyday life even if briefly.

The countertheme - mainly the Vice's comedy of evil - is hardly ever extraneous to the overall fabric of the plays. It is observable, however, that whenever the Vice is by himself confiding his plans to the audience, or exchanging his experiences with his compeers, or corrupting the hero, the incursions into daily life are highly selective. That is to say, that they usually project the evil side of English society which is found in the Vices' sinful haunts. It is only when the counter-theme is shared by both the Vices and low-life characters that another aspect of English life - usually the countryside - makes its appearance.

In Appius and Virginia, for instance, Haphazard corrupts the servants, Mansipulus and Mansipula, in the same way that he influences Judge Appius. In Cambises, Ambidexter brings mistrust and confusion to the rustic world of Hob and Lob as he contributes to the increase of mistrust and confusion at the King's court. In Horestes, the Vice instigates a fight between the countrymen Hodge and Rusticus, an emulation-on a minor scale - of the civil dissension which will divide Mycoena. In Misogonus, the Vice-like figure of Cacurgus deceives the rustics by pretending to be an Egyptian doctor in the same way that he deceives his master by pretending to be a fool. It is only in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, at least in the surviving copy, that the scenes in which the Vice Idleness interacts with Snatch and Catch, and Mother Bee, Doll, and Hob bear no apparent relation to young Wit's efforts to win Dame Wisdom.

Sometimes the comicality of the interludes is left entirely in charge of the low-life characters, while being related to the unfolding

of the theme in some way. In Fulgens and Lucres, the servants 'A' and 'B', in their wooing of the maid Joan, parody the action of their social superiors contending for Lucres's hand. They also deflate the seriousness of the subject matter with their comments and antics. In Damon and Pithias, Grim, the collier of Croydon, supplies coal to the court of Syracuse, and is mocked by two young lackeys; his account of his poor but carefree and contented life offers a contrast to the oppressive ruler's fearful and restless existence. And, in A Looking-Glass for London and England, the Clown and other low-life characters provide their imitation of the corruption of Rasni's court.

In all these mirrorings of daily life and manners, the misrepresentations are evident. Dramatists select certain incidents and characters with comic appeal, but they also have an eye on the ethical message of the play. Thus, the distortions can be accounted for in two ways: the purpose to amuse and the purpose to instruct. It may then be said that the comic mirror, when juxtaposed to the mirror held up to Englishmen's moral-religious and socio-political lives, contributes to the fulfilment of the double function of the dramatized glass metaphor, for it documents and instructs.

3.2 Major Incursions into English Daily Life

When the presentation of English daily life and manners expands, and becomes the main thematic concern of the playwrights, the glass metaphor is no longer dramatized in its twofold meaning: it continues to document, but no longer instructs. Yet this does not mean that the purely comic interludes detract from the established didacticism which generally characterizes the Tudor interludes. They make up a rather small group when compared with the bulk of this didactic drama. Secondly, with very

few exceptions, all the farcical interludes are adaptations of foreign models, as if the native genius could not - at that stage - invent its own drama for amusement's sake only. Thirdly, the utilitarian view of art was so deeply rooted that some didacticism is intertred into the plays: some of these interludes were written for school-boys-which implies an underlying didactic purpose - and there are playwrights who justify their comic plays not on ethical but on therapeutic grounds.⁹³

Though John Heywood was writing secular drama in a period when most drama was religious, his purely farcical interludes are exceptions rather than the rule. The Four PP, The Play of the Weather, and the debates Witty and Witless, and A Play of Love, all end on a moral, edifying note. His entirely comic interludes are only two: The Pardoner and the Friar (1519) and Johan Johan (1520). Both have been traced to French sources: the first is an adaptation of the Farce Nouvelle d'un Pardonneur, d'un Triacleur et d'une Tavernière; the second has for its model the Farce du Pasté.
94

In the satirical portraits of the two worthless churchmen of The Pardoner and the Friar, one may see the reflection of the current criticism of individual members of the clergy. Yet, there is no moral to be drawn; or, rather if there is, it is that the true representatives of religion (the curate and Prat) are powerless before the false ones (the pardoner and the friar).

In Johan Johan, Heywood depicts the growing humiliation of a henpecked husband, Johan Johan, and satirizes the clergy once more. The protagonist has to chafe wax to mend a pail while his wife and her lover - the priest Sir John - share a pie in front of him. Then, in an outburst of anger, he turns them out of doors, and starts worrying about their

being together. This short interlude can only allow a brief incursion into the native scene: topographical references set the play in London and the action inside the hero's house conveys an idea of domestic life and manners. Again, there is no didactic intention, and the punishment of the evil-doers is rather doubtful.

The successful adaptation of French models to the English stage proves that Heywood was not merely a translator, and that he knew how to take advantage of the common ground shared by both the English and the French popular dramatic forms. Yet the fact that his sinners get off triumphantly is mainly due to the author's indebtedness to the foreign farces, which aim at entertainment rather than instruction.

The source of Thersites is a text by the French humanist Ravisius Textor: the neo-Latin dialogue of the same name.⁹⁵ The title-page indicates the play's thematic concern: 'This interlude following doth declare how the greatest boasters are not the greatest doers'. Thersites is described in the list of dramatis personae as a 'boaster' and the plot which focusses on him is predictable enough. He is an extreme type of miles gloriosus, and though a Greek hero, the social environment in which he moves is intentionally native.

The obvious purpose of this interlude is to amuse, although some didacticism impinges upon the fabric of the play. First, Thersites's mother digresses on the education of children in the passage already quoted (Thersites, p.221). Secondly, the soldier who frightens the hero, after pointing out to the members of the audience,

Masters, ye may see by this play in sight
That great barking dogs do not most bite.
(p.225)

starts preaching to them :

Print my words in heart, and mark this conclusion:
Such gifts of God that ye excel in most,
Use them with soberness and yourself never boast;
(p.225)

Finally, he specifically directs his admonitions to children (the play was possibly performed by them), totally unconcerned with the fact that the action had not prepared the audience for the following advice:

To your rulers and parents be you obedient,
Never transgressing their lawful commandment.
(p.225)

Though Thersites is far from being an educational tract, and the final warning has little to do with the rest of the play, the author insists on presenting a moral even when there is no dramatic reason for it.

Ralph Roister Doister (1552) is inspired by Latin comedy, and successfully adapted to Tudor life and manners. It tells the adventures of another miles gloriosus, Ralph, who falls in love with Christian Custance, a widow already engaged. He is entangled by the parasite Matthew Merrygreek who encourages the hero's follies with great relish. Though the action is not clearly localized in England, the play's characters and atmosphere betray its acclimatization to the native setting. With the exception of the braggart and the parasite, all the other characters are English to the core. They all have typical alliterative double-names such as the old nurse Margery Mumbercrust, the maids Tibet Talkapace and Annot Alyface, the boy Tom Truepenny and others. The domestic scenes particularly add to the native atmosphere as they show Dame Custance running her household with a firm hand. She tries to keep her maids busy - serving, knitting, and spinning - but this does not prevent them from chattering, gossiping and singing.

The intention to amuse is plain, and followed from beginning to end. The hero's misconception of himself as a great soldier suffers a blow when he and his servants on attacking Dame Custance's house are thoroughly

beaten by the mistress and her maids. This display of feminine physical superiority is a standard one, reflected in most of the comic mirrors provided by the interludes. Yet the author of Ralph Roister Doister is one of those who justifies comicality on therapeutic grounds. In the prologue the audience is lectured on the necessity of mirth :

For mirth prolongeth life, and causeth health,
Mirth recreates owe spirits, and voideth pensiveness,
Mirth increaseth amity, not hindering our wealth;
(11.8-10)

The author goes one step further, however, not only to justify his choice of a Latin model, but also to claim some moral usefulness for his play:

The wise poets long time heretofore,
Under merry comedies secrets did declare,
Wherein was contained very virtuous lore,
With mysteries and forewarnings very rare.
Such to write neither Plautus nor Terence did
spare.
(11.15-19)

Jack Juggler (1555) is another successful adaptation of the classical model. Its source is Plautus's Amphitruo, but the characters and situations have suffered a 'sea change': their acclimatization to English life and manners is complete. The characters are Londoners: a middle-class couple (Master Bongrace and Dame Coy), their maid (Alison Trip-and-Go) and their lackey (Jenkin Careaway), who is the victim of Jack Juggler, the Vice of the play. Jack's assumption of Jenkin's identity causes the latter a great deal of trouble; the lackey finishes by going to bed thoroughly bewildered, and sore with beating. Most of the action takes place in front of Master Bongrace's house; yet, there are several allusions to London and its urban evils - like gambling and stealing - insights into the social life led by the couple, reference to a city gallant (a possible wooer of Dame Coy), and glimpses of the household severely run by the shrewish mistress.

There is no ethical lesson to be inferred from this interlude for 'little boys' handlings' (p.6). Its author, however, is another who claims therapeutic usefulness for mirth. His prologue states :

For as meat and drink, natural rest and sleep,
For the conservation and health of the body,
Must needs be had, so the mind and wits to keep
Pregnant, fresh, industrious, quick and lusty,
Honest mirth and pastime is requisite and necessary.
(p.4)

Furthermore, like the author of Ralph Roister Doister before him, this playwright also invokes the moral usefulness of comedy, and explains his choice of a classical model by quoting Cicero who

....above all other things commendeth the old comedy,
The hearing of which may do the mind comfort;
For they be replenished with precepts of philosophy:
They contain much wisdom, and teach prudent policy;
(p.5)

The interesting fact is, that after claiming the therapeutic and ethical values of comedy, the prologue insists that the subject of the play is a 'trifling matter' for gravity does not suit his young players. This statement is contradicted in the end, for as soon as Jenkin leaves the scene, a lengthy epilogue claims a moral purpose for the play, beginning:

Such is the fashion of the world now-a-days,
That the simple innocents are deluded
(pp.37-40)

and transforming the whole interlude into an attack upon the Catholic dogma of transubstantiation. The purpose of entertainment, announced by the prologue and faithfully carried out by the plot, justifies the inference that the didactic epilogue is a later Elizabethan addition for publication in 1564. In this way, 'Catholic entertainment becomes Protestant polemic'.⁹⁶

The farcical image of England is, then, mainly projected through the adaptations of French farce and Latin comedy to English life and manners. There are, however, two native examples of purely comic interludes. One is Gammer Gurton's Needle (1553), and the other, Tom Tyler and His Wife (1560). The authors of these interludes have no qualms about being interested solely in entertainment, and in displaying - not correcting - manners and morals.

Gammer Gurton's Needle betrays the influence of classical models in its form (restriction of place and time, and division of the plot into five acts), but its subject matter, setting and characters are entirely native. Unlike the two neo-classical interludes discussed previously, the prologue of Gammer Gurton's Needle simply tells the plot which is to follow. This concerns the loss of a needle by Gammer Gurton while mending her servant Hodge's breech. Diccon, the Vice-like bedlam, engineers the complications that involve part of the village. In the end, the needle is found in Hodge's breech - where it had been all the time - and the play closes in a mood of reconciliation thanks to the Bailly's amicable nature and lenient application of the law.

As will be seen in more detail in the next chapter, this interlude projects a broad image of the English countryside. Not only does it show the interiors of two households - Gammer Gurton's and Dame Chat's - with their daily chores and problems, but it also reflects the life of a whole village with its tavern, shops, and inhabitants (present and alluded to), including the indispensable figures of the curate and the bailly.

The epilogue, unusually again, does not expound any moral, or ask for a prayer for the King or Queen, Diccon, in a typically Plautine or Terentian fashion, simply asks the question : 'For Gammer Gurton's needle's sake, let us have a plaudite!' (V.2.335).

Another purely farcical interlude of native origin is Tom Tyler and His Wife. It tells the story of a husband (Tom Tyler) and his shrewish wife (Strife), who boasts of her ill treatment of her husband. A friend of Tyler's (Tom Tayler) beats Strife disguised as her husband; yet Tyler spoils the 'taming' by letting her into the secret. As the play closes, both parties are reconciled by Patience, described in the list of dramatis personae as a 'sage person'. Because of its brevity, this domestic drama permits only a glimpse of the contemporary native scene, mainly conveyed through the handling of characterization.

As the prologue explains to the audience, the aim of the interlude, 'set out by pretty boys', is simply 'to make you joy and laugh at merry toys' (p.291). In the end, a song entreats the spectators to endure their fates - whatever they be - with patience:

In wealth or woe, howsoever it ends,
Wheresoever ye go, be patient friends.
(p.321)

This is as near as the author gets to a moral: the idea of light entertainment, proposed in the beginning, has been fulfilled throughout.

The farcical image of England - its province being the low-class and the middle-class milieux - is, then, projected by the series of interludes discussed above. Yet they can no longer be considered as dramatizations of the glass metaphor in its double aspect. They project pictures of English life and manners - in the city and in the country - and so fulfil the expressive aspect of the metaphor. But its instrumental aspect is simply non-existent; though authors try to justify mirth on therapeutic grounds, appeal to the authority of ancient writers to attest to the moral usefulness of comedy, and even attach an ethical lesson which is totally extraneous to the plot, the metaphor is only unilaterally dramatized since the audience is no longer provided with

patterns of behaviour.

The absence of a didactic aim in these farcical interludes can be illustrated by the treatment accorded to the glass which is made use of in Jack Juggler. It is worth remembering that in the moral-religious interludes The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene and The Conflict of Conscience, the protagonists perceive the enormity of their sins by looking into a 'glass of conscience'. In the socio-political Wit and Science and The Marriage of Wit and Science, the young heroes realize the fools they have become by looking into the 'glass of self-knowledge'. Yet, the glass in which Jenkin Careaway sees himself is totally devoid of metaphorical meaning :

I have seen myself, a thousand times in a glass,
But so like myself, as he is, never was.
(p.22)

The self-knowledge looked for by the page has nothing to do with Man's efforts to reach salvation or learning. His only preoccupation is to make sure that his identity has not been transferred to another. His is a plain, literal glass which, instead of bringing about realization of sins and subsequent repentance for the edification of the audience, brings only further bewilderment to ~~the hero~~ for the delight of the spectators :

For, if a man may believe a glass,
Even my very own self it was.
(p.33)

The idea of looking at drama as a reflection of England for Englishmen breaks down entirely in the romantic interludes of the seventies. It is probable that the romantic drama enjoyed a long career in England, but all evidence has been lost.⁹⁷ Of the romantic vogue of the seventies onwards only three interludes have survived:

Clyomon and Clamydes (1570), Common Conditions (1578), and The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune (1582). They neither reflect moral, religious, social or political problems, nor display aspects of daily life and manners.

Of course, one has to bear in mind that 'the writer always reflects his society in some way. However little, for example, he may intend to portray the reality of his time, he is inevitably responsive, directly or indirectly, to changing patterns, not only of mass fantasies, but of basic social values and goals'.⁹⁸ Viewed in this way, the romantic interludes may, for example, be indicative of a new attitude towards the theatre on the part of playwrights and spectators: both are increasingly looking at drama as amusement rather than edification, and escapism is welcome. The fact is that these plays are no longer thematically concerned with or inspired by England, and they only reflect it in a very indirect or brief way. All the other interludes discussed so far show - in varying degrees and in different ways - a preoccupation with some aspect of English reality. The romantic interludes, however, illustrate the tendency - gradually developing in the new and contemporary Elizabethan drama - to expand the scope of the dramatic mirror beyond the national boundaries and to broaden the conception of the morality of art.

For the romantic interludes are not aimed at providing models of behaviour, though here and there one is surprised by an instance of edification for the audience. Such is the case of The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune in which the character Hermione, having burnt his father's magic books, admonishes the spectators against the practice of magic :

And, gentlemen, I pray, and so desire I shall,
You would abhor this study, for it will confound
you all.

(p.219)

It is also the case of Clyomon and Clamydes in which the author feels obliged to pay at least lip-service to the idea of the didactic aim of drama. In the prologue he promises to show his audience 'the glasse of glory',

Wherein the froward chances oft, of Fortune you
shall see,
Wherein the chearefull countenance, of good successes
bee:
Wherein true Lovers findeth joy, with hugie heapes
of care,
Wherein as well as famous facts, ignomius placed are:
Wherein the just reward of both, is manifestly showne,
That vertue from the roote of vice, might openly
be knowne.

(11.8-13)

His duty done, the dramatist proceeds to tell his story of chivalry and courtly love with no more concern about moral instruction.

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As has been proposed, the Englishness of the interludes is initially confirmed by reading them as dramatizations of the glass metaphor. The responsiveness of interlude-writers to the pressing problems of the time - whether moral-religious or socio-political - and the widely acknowledged didactic function of the drama determine the choice of themes and establish the treatment given to the authors' thematic preoccupations.

The moral-religious interludes do not specifically concentrate on the English scene, a task often relegated either to the countertheme or to the subplot. Yet, all these plays - including those which do not provide a social context for the unfolding of their themes - ensure the immediacy and applicability of the universal homily to the contemporary audience.

The socio-political interludes mainly project a direct or oblique image of English reality, though this is less true of the humanistic educational allegories. Yet, these interludes, like all the socio-political ones, show a preoccupation with the welfare of the Commonwealth, and propose socially desirable patterns of conduct.

When reflecting critical images of the times, interludes hardly ever dispense with mirth, though very few make it their sole purpose. Those which do so, aim to convey a farcical image of English daily life and customs. Yet, still influenced by the utilitarian view of art, their authors try to justify them by invoking the therapeutic value or the moral usefulness of comedy, though without really intending to offer guides of behaviour. While displaying contemporary manners and morals they decline the duty of correcting them.

It is left to the writers of the romantic interludes to dispense altogether with the metaphor of the dramatized looking-glass. With their different attitude towards the function of drama, these plays do not hold up a mirror to England, nor are they meant to be looking-glasses for Englishmen.

It must be added, however, that even those moral-religious and socio-political interludes which do not look at the native social environment will emerge as more relevant to their English audiences than their themes immediately suggest. As one examines the other components of the dramatic form - setting, characterization, language - and takes into consideration the conventions governing the interludes, and their general conditions of performance, one realizes that even the most universal themes had an immediacy and applicability to an English audience. Here, it must be underlined that, looking at the

interludes as dramatic mirrors/one already sees that, in most of them, the documentary and didactic functions - although operating in different ways and in varying degrees from play to play - justify the statement that this is drama for Englishmen and about England.

Notes to Chapter I

1. For the idea that Horace was by far the most influential and representative single writer on the poetic art in the Renaissance see Geoffrey Shepherd, in the introduction to his edition of Sir Philip Sidney's An Apology for Poetry, second edition (Manchester, 1977), pp. 42-3. The Horatian influence can be seen in Sidney's definition of poetry as 'a speaking picture - with this end, to teach and delight' (p.101).
2. Madeleine Doran, Endeavors of Art (first published, 1954; reprinted, Madison and London, 1972), pp.94-100.
3. The morality of the Elizabethan drama is far more complex than this generalization implies, and will be dealt with in the last chapter of this thesis.
4. Alfred Harbage, Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions (first, published, 1952; reprinted, Bloomington and London, 1970), Appendix C pp.351-8. Shakespeare's morality is treated by the same author in As They Liked It (New York, 1947).
5. The 'mirror' literature has a long history. It was particularly successful in the Middle Ages, and in England, in the second part of the sixteenth century, it became 'one of the most popular and influential forms of narrative poetry - if not one of the most worthy'. See Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1959), p.108. For its importance in the development of English tragedy, see Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy, second edition, (Oxford, 1956), chapters VII and VIII.
6. See Farnham, p.281, on the meaning of the title of The Mirror for Magistrates: 'The book is a "mirror" because princes and others in authority may find in it not so much a reflection of life's lawlessness here below, which will repel their eyes and turn them upward, as a reflection of life's law both here and above, which they may well take to heart'.
7. J. S. R. Goodlad, A Sociology of Popular Drama (London, 1971), p.4.
8. 'Literature and Society', in The Arts in Society, edited by Robert N. Wilson (Englewood Cliffs, 1964), pp.300-14 (p.308).
9. Georges Gurvitch, 'The Sociology of the Theatre', in Sociology of Literature and Drama, edited by Elizabeth and Tom Burns (Harmondsworth, 1973), pp. 71-81 (p.76).
10. David Mayer, 'Towards a Definition of Popular Theatre' in Western Popular Theatre, edited by David Mayer and Kenneth Richards (London, 1977), pp. 257-77 (p.263).
11. Edited by Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge, 1938), pp.65-6.

12. This would also make great demands on the skilfulness of the actors. It has been pointed out that 'parallel to the players' ability to divide their talents between the forces of good and evil is the ease with which they alternate between serious and comic action. That is, since the virtuous roles tend to demand serious acting and the villainous roles comic acting, the players must all have been adept at both'. See David Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p.87.
13. Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (first published, 1958; reprinted, New York and London, 1968), p.122.
14. Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, edited by Robert Schwartz (Baltimore and London, 1978), pp.64-72 and pp.151-9.
15. W. A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford, 1971), p.129.
16. Kolve, p.124.
17. For the problem of Everyman's Protestant overtones see Arnold Williams, 'The English Moral Play before 1500', Annuaire Medievale, 4 (1963), 5-22 (pp.20-1); also, John M. Wasson, 'Interpolation in the Text of Everyman', Theatre Notebook, 27 (1972-3), 14-20.
18. G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, revised edition (Oxford, 1966), p.157. The author also adds that 'sometimes it is possible to recognize a predilection on the part of the preacher for incidents that can be localized in his own country, thereby to heighten the appeal of his particular narrative'.
19. Tudor Drama and Politics (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp.28-34.
20. For a reading of the play not as the usually accepted conflict allegory, but as an imitation of the action of life's pilgrimage, see Edgar T. Schell, 'On the Imitation of Life's Pilgrimage in The Castle of Perseverance' in Medieval English Drama: Essays Critical and Contextual, edited by Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson (Chicago and London, 1972) pp.279-91.
21. T. W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude (first published, 1958 ; reprinted Leicester, 1967), p. 55.
22. Though in Wisdom there is some lively dialogue among Mind, Will and Understanding when they fall from grace, the scenes are not funny; Lucifer himself is an enticing but not a comic figure like the Vice.
23. Spivack, p.126.
24. See, for example, G. R. Elton, England under the Tudors, second edition (London, 1957), pp.102-10.

25. It is worth noticing that the teaching of patterns of conduct is sometimes illustrated - and consequently, strengthened - by visual aids. In Wisdom, after all the sins committed by Mind, Will and Understanding, the stage direction prescribes that Anima should appear, 'in the most horrybull wyse, fowlere than a fende' (before 1.903), and Christ explains - indirectly to the audience - that

As many dedly synnys as ye have usyde,
So many devllys inyowe soule be.
(11.909-10).

In Youth, the subversion of order by the Vices is made more striking by the fact that Pride and Riot set Charity in the stocks. The Virtue's direct address reinforces the moral conveyed by the scene :

Lo, Masters, here you may see beforne,
That the weed overgroweth the corn.
Now may ye see all in this tide
How vice is taken, and virtue set aside.
(11.539-42)

26. J. D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors: 1485-1558, second edition (Oxford, 1957) p.363.
27. Lewis Einstein, Tudor Ideals (first published, 1921 ; reprinted, New York 1962), p.203.
28. Elton, p.137.
29. Rainer Pineas, 'The English Morality Play as a Weapon of Religious Controversy', Studies in English Literature, 2 (1962), 157-80 (p.165).
30. Ruth H. Blackburn, Biblical Drama under the Tudors (The Hague and Paris, 1971), p. 40.
31. The Plays of John Bale (Copenhagen, 1968), p.84.
32. Biblical Drama in England (London, 1968), p.115.
33. Roston, pp.115-20.
34. Both Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, pp.109-12, and Naomi E. Pasachoff, Playwrights, Preachers and Politicians: A Study of Four Old Testament Dramas (Salzburg, 1975), pp.47-8, read the play mainly as a political message justifying the seizure of power. Bevington dates the play in Edward VII's reign, and sees Jacob as its central revolutionary figure, anticipating the political position of the Marian exiles. Pasachof, however, dates the play in Mary's reign, and sees Rebecca as the main revolutionary character, sharing the political philosophy of Protestant radicals.
35. Anne Righter, Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play (Harmondsworth, 1967) p. 18.

36. For other addresses to London by Oseas, see: I.3.268-75; II.1.550-61; III.1.893-904; III.2.1213-33; III.3.1301-8; IV.1.1384-97 and IV.3.1573-84.
37. Tudor Drama and Politics, p. 121.
38. Lost Tudor Plays (London, 1907), p. 410.
39. The English Drama: 1485-1585, edited with a bibliography by G. K. Hunter (Oxford, 1969), p. 48.
40. Spivack, p. 211.
41. Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, pp. 129-30.
42. See Spivack, pp. 238-9; Bevington, From 'Mankind to Marlowe', pp. 246-7; and Celesta Wine, 'Nathaniel Wood's Conflict of Conscience', P M L A, 50(1935) 661-78 (p. 661).
43. As Craik, The Tudor Interlude, p. 82, observes, 'New Custom's attitude towards the garments of the clergy is self-contradictory, especially since he has himself abandoned the vestment which he now allows Sincere Doctrine to retain, and since these vestments have been specifically recommended to Perverse Doctrine by Hypocrisy. This fact is the more curious in that clerical dress is one of the play's principal topics'.
44. Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, p. 130.
45. Wilson, p. 96.
46. The position held in this chapter is that only those plays which keep their stories closer to the parable should be called 'prodigal son plays'. This view goes against Wilson's, pp. 100-1, who includes The Glass of Government among them, and Roston's, pp. 58-9, who also adds Nice Wanton to it as English dramatic versions of the parable.
47. The prologue states that 'the younger sonne his lif doth leade anewe' (l. 35), and that [.....] erat together all the joy and bankett at the last' (l. 36); and before manuscript breaks off, the hero is assured by the good servant Liturgus that the latter himself will bring about a reconciliation between son and father (IV.4.1-4 and 27-8).
48. As Pearl Hogrefe, The Sir Thomas More Circle (Urbana, 1959), p. 326, observes, 'the aims of education in the two plays are much the same, though Redford perhaps gives the noble aims more emphasis and presents them more consistently'.
49. Craik, p. 25.
50. Glynn Wickham, in the introduction to his edition of the play in English Moral Interludes (London, 1976), p. 164.

51. See Samuel A. Tannenbaum, 'Comments on The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom', Philological Quarterly 9(1930), 321-40 (p.324).
52. See William A. Armstrong, 'The Authorship and Political Meaning of Cambises', English Studies, 36 (1955), 289-99 (p.292).
53. For the proofs of Fortitude's royalty, as well as for the similarities between this fragment and Magnificence, see William O. Harris, Skelton's 'Magnyfycence' and the Cardinal Virtue Tradition (Chapel Hill, 1965), pp.157-68.
54. According to an account left of it, the lost interlude Lord Governance and Lady Public Weal (1526) by John Roo (or Rho) did see Madeleine H. Dodds, 'Early Political Plays', The Library, third series, 4 (1913), 393-408 (pp.395-6).
55. Dodds, pp.398-9.
56. The beginning of the suppression of the monasteries dates back to Wolsey's time. According to Mackie, The Earlier Tudors, p.375, 'in 1518 Wolsey, having secured a Bull authorizing him to reform the monasteries, had suppressed twenty-one houses, some of them not so small, for the benefit of his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford'.
57. For a very interesting reading of the play as a two-part morality, in which the two struggles indicate the successive and alternate temptations that the protagonist undergoes first in prosperity, then in adversity, see Harris, pp. 71-126.
58. Magnyfycence, pp. cvi-cxxviii; some of Ramsay's followers are Dodds, pp. 393-5, and Irving Ribner, 'Morality Roots of the Tudor History Play', Tulane Studies in English, 4 (1954), 21-43 (pp.24-6).
59. Harris, in his reading of the play, p.168, comes to the conclusion that the ambiguity of the title 'has obscured our modern understanding since it was apparently designed to conceal under a flattering term of royal address a subtle but severe reminder to a prosperously intemperate king that he was not exemplifying the kingly virtue associated with that title'. As for Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, p.60, he considers the implied criticism of Henry VIII, 'the most daring topical meaning in Magnificence'.
60. 'Skelton's Magnyfycence', Renaissance Quarterly, 23 (1970), 14-25 .
61. Winsor, p.24.
62. Dodds, pp.394-5.
63. R.L. Ramsey, at the time he wrote the introduction to his edition of Magnyfycence, pp. lxxii-lxxiii, thought the manuscript had been lost. Ribner, when writing his article 'Morality Roots of the Tudor History Play' in 1954, p.25 thought the same. Yet, E. M. Salter had edited Skelton's Speculum Principis in Speculum, 9 (1934), 25-37.

64. See Dodds, p.407, and Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, pp.84-5.
65. Howard Baker, Induction to Tragedy (first published, 1939; reprinted, New York, 1965), pp.9-47, approaches the play through the problem of the division of authorship.
66. Frederic Kiefer, 'Seneca's Influence on Elizabethan Tragedy: An Annotated Bibliography', Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama, 21 (1978), 17-34 (p.17), says: 'The study of Seneca's influence on Elizabethan tragedy poses formidable problems, for the scholarship is not only prodigious in quantity but often controversial in nature'.
67. The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy, p. 353, and Baker, pp.39-40.
68. See his introduction to Gorboduc, or Ferrex and Porrex, (London, 1970), p. xviii.
69. The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, revised edition, (London, 1965), p.45.
70. See the chart of word incidence in Barbara Heliodora Carneiro de Mendonça, 'The Influence of Gorboduc on King Lear', Shakespeare Survey, 13 (1960), 41-8 (p.44).
71. Cauthen, pp. xi-xii.
72. There is the possibility that the surviving text was slightly modified in 1561, so that it refers to the two monarchs. Blatt, The Plays of John Bale, p. 102, suggests: 'the possibility that the manuscript was found among the corporation archives at Ipswich makes feasible the idea that Bale hoped the play might be acted on Queen Elizabeth's visit to that town between the 5th and the 11th of August, 1561. No corroborative evidence has been unearthed, so that the idea is based exclusively on the nature of the final lines on Elizabeth together with the place of discovery'.
73. Robert Potter, The English Morality Play (London and Boston, 1975), p. 121.
74. This view is in disagreement with Michael Shapiro, Children of the Revels (New York, 1977), p. 47, who, discussing the topical relevance of court plays, says that 'most daring of all are parallels which criticize the sovereign's own negative qualities, as in Damon and Pithias where Edwardes deplores Elizabeth-Dionysius' susceptibility to parasitical councilors [counsellors]'.
75. This play has been read as a topical comment on the contemporary Scottish political situation. See Wilson, The English Drama, pp.145-6, and Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, pp.150-3.
76. E. B. De Chickera, 'Horestes' Revenge - Another Interpretation', Notes and Queries, n.s.6 (1959), 190, suggests that 'what really settles Horestes' doubt is King Idmaeus' approval. For is not the King commanded to act for

God, according to Elizabethan moral teaching?'. Nevertheless, the moral ambiguity still remains for it seems odd that both Satan's and God's respective agents should agree on the same moral issue.

77. W. A. Armstrong, 'The Elizabethan Conception of the Tyrant, Review of English Studies, 22 (1946), 161-81 (p.166.).
78. See Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, pp. 44-51, and Wickham, in the introduction to his edition of the play in English Moral Interludes, p.37.
79. Wickham, p.37.
80. Wilson, pp.9-10; though the critic admits that the subplot illuminates the main plot at a comic level, he does not elaborate on this.
81. Hogrefe, pp.305-6.
82. John Heywood's 'Play of the Wether'. A Study in Early Tudor Drama (Raleigh, 1951). Bevington also sees the play as an allegory of Tudor political theory in 'Is John Heywood's Play of the Weather Really about the Weather?', Renaissance Drama, 7, (1964), 11-19, and also, in Tudor Drama and Politics, pp.65-70.
83. Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, p.210.
84. Wilson, p.40.
85. T. W. Craik has convincingly argued that Wealth and Health is a Marian interlude which received its first performance at court in the Queen's presence. See 'The Political Interpretation of Two Tudor Interludes: Temperance and Humility and Wealth and Health. Review of English Studies, n.s., 4 (1953), 98-108.
86. See Louis B. Wright, 'Social Aspects of Some Belated Moralities', Anglia, 54 (1930), 107-48 (p.116).
87. Edgar T. Schell and J. D. Shuchter propose in the introduction to their edition of the play (New York, 1969), p. 309, that 'the Vice's name, Courage, is best modernized as "nerve"; Spivack, p.232, in a longer explanation, equates 'courage' with 'the blind will and appetitive energy governing the lives of animals'.
88. Schell and Shuchter, the editors of the play, p.420, consider the first two scenes as one, and so divide its structure into four episodes.
89. 'Some notes on Thomas Lupton's All for Money', Notes and Queries, n.s.1 (1954), 233-5.
90. Wright, p.128.

91. Yet, in spite of the bleak image of London projected by the play, it seems to have been very successful for, according to Stephen Gosson, Plays Confuted in Five Actions (London, n.d., [c.1582]), sig.D2 'the writer of the plaie called London against the three Ladies he confesseth in his prologe that he made it partly for envie, partly for a vaine glorious minde. For envie; because his stomach would not beare the commendations that other men gave to the three Ladies in his hearing. For vaine glorie: because he strave to do better himselfe, and misd the cushion'.
92. 'The Comic Mirror and the World of Glass', Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama, 9 (1966), 16-23 (p.16).
93. See M. C. Bradbrook, The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy, revised edition (London, 1973), p.30. It is worth noticing that the therapeutic value of laughter is expounded by Adulation in Respublica: 'it prolongeth the life of man to be merry' (l.919).
94. Ian Maxwell, French Farce and John Heywood (Melbourne and London, 1946), pp.56-82; T.W. Craik, 'The True Source of John Heywood's Johan Johan', Modern Language Review, 45 (1950).
95. See F. S. Boas, 'Early English Comedies', in The Cambridge History of English Literature, edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, 15 vols (first published, 1907-16; reprinted, Cambridge, 1934 - 1968), V, 89-120 (pp. 107-8 ; also, Wilson, p. 105).
96. Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, p.126. The superseded view, however, supports the idea of the play as an instrument of propaganda of Protestant theology. See J. S. Farmer the editor of the play (London, 1906), p.278: 'in spite of its avowed aesthetic intent (even more outspoken than that of Roister Doister), it is a subtle attack upon the Roman Catholic Church'. Boas, p.107, also agrees that 'beneath its apparently jocular exterior, it veils an extraordinarily dextrous attack upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the persecution by which it was enforced'.
97. See C.R. Baskervill, 'Some Evidence of Early Romantic Plays in England', Modern Philology, 14 (1916-1917), 37-59 and 83 - 128.
98. Watt, 'Literature and Society', p.310.

CHAPTER II

THE PERENNIAL ENGLISH SETTING

.... and ye have in mynde,
Of my fyrste commynge in to this hall
(Fortitude in The Four Cardinal Virtues)

I speake not of this Realme, you take me amisse,
All my talke is of the noble Citie of Tyre.
(The Pedlar in The Pedlar's Prophecy)

Concerning the setting of the interludes, Bernard Spivack has stated that, 'from the arena of Christian metaphysics the action moves.... into the arena of the world, and finds habitation even more local in England or London'.¹ It is true that with the growing secularization of the drama, the cosmic setting gradually disappears, and the world becomes the scene of the action. Yet, the above-quoted statement cannot be taken as a general description of an overall pattern because it is oversimplified.

First of all, the change from one type of setting to another does not follow a straight line of development - from the 'arena of Christian metaphysics' through the 'arena of the world' to England or London. A reading of some early interludes like Mankind (1465-1470) and The World and the Child (1508) shows that the cosmic and the world settings alternate in the course of their actions. It must also be remembered that when the secularization of the drama seems to be moving towards its completion, in the third decade of the sixteenth century, the Reformation places the stage action back into the 'arena of Christian metaphysics'. Moreover, if one looks at the interludes as drama in performance, one realizes that their settings usually turn out to be English, though in varying degrees.

There is a large group of interludes which have their actions ostensibly set in England, and it is the contention of this chapter, that even when the place of the action can be termed cosmic, world, or foreign, the setting of this drama is basically English. This perennial native scene may be variably reinforced by such factors as didacticism, topicality, satire, and, as will be seen in the next chapter, by the use of contemporary dress. Though these factors will occasionally be referred to, the emphasis here will be placed on the words of the texts and the presence of certain characters, which more obviously provide a deeper sense of awareness of the Englishness of the settings - brief or long, incidental or consistent, as the case may be.

Most interludes, with the notable exceptions of The Pride of Life and The Castle of Perseverance, were designed for indoor performance.² They were mainly presented in the halls of castles, houses, and colleges, as attested by the many references to 'this hall' as illustrated by the first epigraph to this chapter. Robert Weimann has proposed that the combination of locus and platea common to the staging of the mystery cycles was passed on to the subsequent drama :

The same principle, in an altered form, had its impact on the interludes acted in Tudor halls. Here too the action was performed in two general areas: the acting area in the middle or at the head of the hall stage (farther away from the audience) and the 'place', where the standing plebeian part of the audience sometimes mixed quite closely with the actors (as in Fulgens and Lucrece). Originally an outdoor conception in medieval plays, the platea thus was adapted to the requirements of indoor staging.³

One of the most interesting consequences of the juxtaposition of locus and platea - if Weimann's hypothesis proves to be right - is the localization of illusion and representation in the former, and of reality and self-expression in the latter, where the actor-audience contact generally took place.⁴ Thus, the characters permanently close to the audience

(such as the Vice and low-life figures) were so both literally and metaphorically.

The travelling players' tradition of presentation in private halls before screens though the most common, existed side by side with the court tradition - which was supplied with more resources - and later on, with the new methods of the inns of court and universities.⁵ Yet, the differences between these modes of presentation, chiefly between the first two, should not be overemphasized. As T. W. Craik states,

The staging of the Tudor interlude was basically utilitarian. There might be decorative and realistic 'houses' built for performances where spectacle was thought desirable and within the means of the producer, but the authors seldom forgot that the plain banqueting-hall with its two doors was the setting in which the interlude had arisen and prospered Adaptability is the most conspicuous feature of the staging, and the great majority of interludes could be performed anywhere.⁶

If the majority of the interludes could be performed anywhere, this means that representational scenery in the Italian or modern sense was entirely lacking. For, 'it was not until the Italian Renaissance that the place of a performance could become attired in costume like an actor and take part in the drama-and scenery was born'.⁷ There was, consequently, elasticity and freedom in the treatment of place, and change of locality could be effected without any need of visual devices. In performance, place identification could be symbolically established by set pieces such as a chair or a tree, by dialogue, and by the presence of certain characters. In the process of reading the texts, the idea of place is also conveyed by stage directions. As symbolic representation depends a great deal on the scanty information concerning the performances of the plays and stage directions indicating locality are mostly the interpolations of modern editors, they will not be taken into account here. The notion of setting will be entirely derived from the information

supplied by the dialogue and from associations with characters. It must also be added that the word 'setting' will be used only for the evidence of location available from the text itself, and not for the place of the actual theatrical presentation.

The interludes, like other manifestations of popular drama, subscribe to the convention of non-sacredness of place, already discussed in the introduction to this thesis. This signifies that 'though there was a "place" reserved for the physical action, the dramatic action was limited only by the four walls of the hall'.⁸ The proximity between performers and spectators in the Tudor hall, and the convention of constant appeal to the members of the audience, made the latter a constituent element of performance. Thus, in a theatre in which stage and auditorium shared a common ground, and which thrived on the acknowledgement of the presence of the public, the idea of setting - as the fictive place of the action and as understood in the so-called 'theatre of illusion' - has to be re-examined. A good starting-point is Richard Southern's comment which must be quoted at length to be properly understood. According to him,

The action of an Interlude was emphatically not conceived as an imitation or re-presentation of some outside event supposed to be happening, or to have once happened, elsewhere, but as the entry into one's room of a group of players, who came in and presented a story or a diverting argument in one's own room. It was indeed, from the presentation point of view, something more like having a home charade than going out to a theatre performance. The technicalities of setting were provided, or accepted, with the purpose of helping the players in presenting such a performance, not so as to turn part of one's room into the semblance of some other place. So long as the galvanizing and vivid custom of direct audience-address persisted, no other conception of the sense of action of a play could of course ever be entertained, for direct address to spectators must belie any fiction that the action is taking place somewhere where there are no spectators!⁹

The main problem with the above statement is that the author, reacting against the reading of the interludes as self-contained plays, goes to the opposite extreme, and sees this drama as systematically devoid

of any illusion. He fails to acknowledge that in every theatrical form there must be a minimum of illusory action for the drama to exist, and that illusion is not brought about by scenic devices alone. It is true that the very proximity between actors and spectators in the Tudor hall would inhibit any consistent attempt at a realistic image of life in the staged fiction; and, of course, owing to the absence of scenery, there was no intention of turning the locale of the presentation into some other place. Yet, playwrights could stimulate their audiences' imagination to visualize a fictive world. This illusion could be achieved not only through the means already suggested - symbolic representation, words, and characters - but also through the actors' talent.¹⁰

It is also true that interludes, like other forms of popular theatre, practise the discontinuity of the illusory process, and direct address is one of the means of doing so. It must be remembered, however, that, although a characteristic of the interludes, this technique of audience participation is not always used: there are several occasions in the action reserved for purely representational dialogues. For, as has already been observed - and it is relevant to recall it here - this drama inclines towards non-illusion rather than illusion, but does not exclude the latter altogether. Richard Southern's point, based solely on the presentation of the plays is ultimately that in the interludes the sense of a fictive place of the action is imperfectly conveyed, and thus the setting is essentially English. It remains to be considered, in a more comprehensive way, why this is so.

It may be proposed that the main reasons for the unconvincing rendering of the plays' fictive settings lie in the conditions of theatrical presentation and the guiding conventions of the interludes, since they contribute to what V.A. Kolve has called the 'pervasive

anachronism' of the place of performance.¹¹ In other words, expanding the meaning of 'anachronism' to include place as well as time the critic means that no matter when and where the action happens the preponderant impression is that it is happening 'now' and 'here'. The idea of the pervasive anachronism of the place of performance is common to all interludes, and will be taken for granted in the following discussion.

Nevertheless, one must also account for those moments of dramatic illusion superimposed on the realistic attitude towards setting. In these instances, the dramatist tried to foster the sense of a cosmic, foreign, or even an English locality - other than that of the audience - where the dramatic fiction was being unfolded. Occasionally, one comes across an interlude in which there is a discernible intention to provide local colour (Jacob and Esau, for example). In others, the locale of the action may be mentioned from time to time, either to lend some degree of verisimilitude to the story (for example, Patient Grissell), or to establish a safe foreign background against which national affairs can be discussed (for example, The Pedlar's Prophecy). On the whole, however, metaphysical or foreign settings - since illusion is not sustained for long periods - are far from permanent. When they are sustained, they add dramatic significance to the interludes through the tension of the interplay between the fictive locality of the action and the actual place of performance.

Besides the staging conditions and the guiding conventions of this drama, there are several other reasons why the illusion of non-native settings cannot be convincingly maintained. Didacticism is the underlying principle orienting both the metaphysical lesson and the foreign setting towards the native scene. The absence of local colour also contributes to the Englishness of the settings, since local colour stresses the

distance between the life of the audience and the life enacted on the stage - while at the same time arranging for the audience's temporary escape into this new and distant life'.¹² The language of the interludes, lacking the poetical strength of the medium of the Elizabethan drama 'to paint landscapes with words', little encouraged the spectators to leave the real world. Also, even if the imaginary locality succeeded in being established, the presence of typically English characters like the Vice and low-life types with their non-representational characteristics would prevent the audience from transporting itself imaginatively to another geographical region. Finally, the dramatic function of anachronism could always break the illusion, and bring the action back to the contemporary native scene.

The use of anachronism contributed to the coexistence of the play world and the real world, though with the predominance of the latter. Besides the pervasive anachronism of the place of performance - to which can be added that of costume - one has also to take into consideration the anachronistic references in the texts, which greatly contribute to the anglicization of the non-native scenes of the interludes. Dramatic anachronism can be occasional, simply used for the sake of convenience - as the reference to 'pounds' in the cosmic setting of Everyman and in the Biblical world of Susanna - or as a means of enlivening a dialogue - for instance, the Christian oaths pronounced in the Hellenistic localities of Damon and Pithias and Horestes. Yet, the view underlying the present chapter is that the employment of anachronism is a characteristic technique of the popular tradition, rooted not only in the general medieval attitude towards all past history, but also, in the theatre, in the flexible relationship between actor and audience.¹³ It should be remarked, however, that in the interludes, many anachronisms appear to involve a conscious dramatic intention on the part of playwrights,

mainly that of conveying their message more immediately and vividly to the audience. It is one of the purposes of this discussion to look into the function of anachronistic allusions, and to consider to what extent they contribute to the anglicization of the different kinds of setting - Biblical and ancient.

The investigation of the process of anglicization by anachronistic allusions ceases, of course, to be of primary importance in the section concerned with the English setting properly speaking. Here, the purpose is to point out the authors' intentions in deliberately choosing to locate their stories in England, and the sense of actuality they succeeded in imparting to their settings chiefly by means of topical and topographical references.

1. The Cosmic Setting

The earliest interludes, mainly preoccupied with the problem of Man's salvation, unfold their plots in a cosmic setting. As the main characters are the King of Life, Mankind, Anima, Man, and Everyman, the action is laid 'in the universe'. The hero is placed on earth, hesitating between heaven and hell. The vastness of the conception of the setting finds its counterpart in the vastness of the conception of time.

Yet, if one imagines these plays in performance, one realizes that a thoroughly cosmic setting is the exception rather than the rule. Furthermore, the anglicization brought about by the conditions of theatrical presentation is reinforced by a sense of contemporaneity and Englishness conveyed by the text. Allusions to England or things English impinge upon the spiritual atmosphere of the cosmic setting and bring the action - to a greater or lesser extent - to the native scene. The subject of these plays, the salvation of Man's soul, being of the utmost importance, has to be made

immediate and familiar to strike both the minds and the hearts of the members of the audience. Hence the presence of so many references to different aspects of English reality in the illusory cosmic setting of these interludes.

The Pride of Life (late fourteenth century) and The Castle of Perseverance (1405-1425) may seem misplaced here for both share the characteristic of having, respectively, a 'court' and a 'castle' for their settings. Yet, since these places are allegorized, they may be regarded as having a cosmic design. The surviving fragment of The Pride of Life consists of only five hundred and two lines. They are enough, however, to provide a glimpse of the 'cosmic court' where the King of Life lives with his Queen, his knights Strength and Health, his messenger Mirth (or Solace) and his Bishop. It is worth noticing, however, that in spite of the play's overall spiritual atmosphere, when the King promises to reward his messenger, he does it as if he were a King of England disposing of his kingdom :

Thou schal have for thi gode wil
To thin avauncement,
The castel of Galispire on the Hil,
And the erldom of Kente.
(11.299-302)

The cosmic setting of The Castle of Perseverance may be indicated by Confession's words to Mankind :

That castle is a precious place,
Full of virtue and of grace;
Who-so liveth there his life's space,
No sin shall him schende.
(11.1560-3)

Now and then, however, the audience was expected to penetrate through the timeless redemption theme, and recognize specific aspects of its time-bound contemporary world. This can be illustrated by Belial's comment on his

local experience, 'from Carlisle into Kent my carping they take' (1.201), by Backbiter's significant remark about telling tales 'bothen in England and in Walës' (1.1751), and by World's allusion to 'the gallows of Canwick' (1.2433).

It is also plausible to suggest that the cosmic setting of Mankind (1465-1470), noticeable at the beginning and the end of the play, frames an anglicized world. It is in this parenthetical setting that the hero's corruption takes place. The action begins with a contention between Mercy and the Vices, and it continues with Mankind tilling the soil. The Vices come to act upon the protagonist in this cosmic 'rural' location. Their final victory is symbolized by the hero's announcement of a change of place; Mankind leaves his 'farm' and decides to meet the Vices in an ale-house, one of their haunts :

Adieu, fair masters! I will haste me to the ale-house,
And speak with New Guise, Now-a-days, and Nought:
A(nd) get me a leman with a smattering face!
(11.610-12)

The change from the cosmic to the world setting is doubly important: not only does it show Mankind's corruption being effected in the familiar tavern - commonly denounced in the sermons¹⁴ - to symbolize the place of the hero's inevitable fall from grace to sin, but this tavern is anglicized by the presence of the Vices and their actions, which include a parody of the procedures of a native law-court with Mischief in the role of judge (11.665-95).

It must be remarked, however, that the cosmic setting itself is permeated by Englishness. When, early in the play, the Vices discuss their future visits, they do so in terms of native characters inhabiting villages in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk.¹⁵ New Guise plans :

First, I shall begin at m(aster) Huntington of Sawston;
From thence I shall go to William Thurlay of Hauxton,
And so, forth to Pycharde of Trumpington:
(11.505-7)

Now-a-days, in his turn, decides :

I shall go to William Baker of Walton;
To Richard Bollman of Gayton;
I shall spare Master Wood of Fulbourn:
(11.509-11)

Similarly Nought :

I shall to go William Patrick of Massingham;
I shall spare Master Allington of Bottisham,
And Hammond of Swaffham,
(11.513-15)

The overall cosmic setting is re-assumed by Mercy and Mankind towards the end of the play: having overcome Despair, Mankind gives up the idea of suicide, and is set on the path to salvation.

In Wisdom (1450-1500), Christ and Lucifer contend for Anima in a cosmic setting which is also intruded upon by a world one. For example, in a common agreement, Mind, Will and Understanding acknowledge that maintenance, perjury, and lust are flourishing 'in this lande' (1.682). That 'this land' turns out to be England may be surmised from a series of allusions to well-known London sites :

The quest of Holborn cum into this placys.
(1.721)

Here ys the quest of Holborn,
(1.731)

At Westmyster, wythowt varyance,
(1.789)

A Powlys betwyn to ande thre,
(1.794)

Have hym in the Marschalsi seyn aryght,
Than to the Amralte, for they wyll byght.
(11.853-4)

Nature (1495), like The Castle of Perseverance, is a full-scale interlude, covering Man's life from youth to old age. Yet, unlike the latter, Nature has its cosmic setting constantly invaded by the world one. The author, Henry Medwall, located the action of Man's temptation and subsequent corruption in the England of his time. Pride, the most important agent of evil in the play, is, like the Lucifer of Wisdom, a 'gallant'. In his boasts he betrays his allegiance to France, the centre of worldly fashion, and seen through English eyes, the centre also of vanity:

I am spoken of more than they all,
Hence to Paris gates.
(p.67)

Pride, an obvious satire of contemporary gallants, initiates Man into corruption; but this is only completed when, like Mankind, the hero visits a tavern. In this emblematic place of Man's fall, significantly peopled by characters named Kate and Margery, the hero's debauched behaviour signals his moral decadence (pp.78-80). Yet, though the worldly atmosphere of the play is recognizably English, it is mainly conveyed by the presence of characters like the Vices and the tavern-goers. It is not much reinforced by the words in the text, although there are occasional references to pounds (p.71), shillings and crowns (p.95), 'Poules' and the 'end of Cheap' (p.98).

It is perhaps appropriate here to elaborate the idea - briefly suggested in the introduction to this chapter - that such characters as the Vice and the members of the lower classes contribute to the anglicization of the setting of an interlude like Nature. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this is particularly the result of their twofold dramatic nature - representational and non-representational - which endows them with the ability to step in and out of the world of the play without difficulty.

The Vice is specially relevant in this context, since unlike most of the low-life figures, he belongs to the main plot of the play. It may, therefore, be suggested that the Vice, by his very presence, succeeds in bringing any action placed in a fictive locale back to the place of theatrical presentation since he is perpetually cognizant of the presence of the audience. This is suggested not only by his moments of self-expression when alone in the non-illusory platea, but also when in the illusory locus, he interpolates his representational dialogue with asides to the spectators, and sprinkles his conversation with topical and topographical allusions.

As has been observed, Englishness impinges upon the setting of those interludes with a cosmic design in varying measure. The great exception to this is to be found in Everyman (1495): its action is throughout developed in a cosmic setting. Unlike the other interludes so far discussed, the hero is not shown wavering between good and evil; he is already fully committed to sin when the action begins. This beginning in media res removes the necessity on the part of the playwright to introduce a world setting in which the hero's fall can be made visible. As has been suggested, this is the main reason why, in other interludes, an Englishworldliness intrudes into a cosmic setting. As far as Englishness is concerned, Everyman's doubtful origin (English or a translation from the Dutch?)¹⁶ does not present any problem. The hero's pilgrimage - from sin to repentance and salvation - is entirely set on the spiritual plane. It may be noticed that there are several references to the world: Everyman refers to 'this vale terrestrial' (1.155) and Death mentions 'here on earth' (1.169). Yet, they are always relevant to the universality of the plays' thematic opposition between the world and heaven or hell. This can be exemplified by Everyman's words when, after his repentance, he becomes worthy of God's grace :

In this world live no more we shall,
But in heaven before the highest Lord of all.
(11.798-9)

Ultimately, it is only the conditions of performance plus the use of contemporary costume that set Everyman in the native world. Although there is a series of soliloquies, presumably addressed to the audience, overt direct address is absent; consequently, the dramatic illusion is never entirely broken. The fact that there are no Vice figures or comic low-life characters also helps to make the action of Everyman capable of sustaining illusion more consistently than most interludes. This play achieves a delicate balance between illusion and reality, gaining dramatic significance from the interaction between its imaginary cosmic setting and the real hall in which the performance would have taken place. It is thus possible to visualize Everyman in the audience being, at the same time, identified with and detached from the plight of Everyman on the stage.

2. The World Setting

Already in the earliest interludes, mainly concerned with Man's position in the universe and the redemption of his soul, the world setting finds its way into the cosmic one. The later plays, focussing more and more on worldly issues, bring the action to earthly localities. The cosmic setting does not disappear entirely - it frequently looms in the background - but it ceases to be the battlefield on which Man struggles for his salvation. Evil gradually becomes more social than spiritual, and if the sins of the world are still generally satirized, the satirical target gets closer to England. Under the above heading it is possible to discuss a number of plays which, though no longer possessing a cosmic design, are still undefined in terms of their spatial context. Nevertheless, though apparently free from temporal and spatial restrictions, all of them

tend to establish contemporary England - in varying degrees - as a place of action.

It must be borne in mind that the almost perpetual awareness of the place of performance informed the audience where the fictive events were actually taking place. And, although the dialogues do not yield definite proofs of the Englishness of the localities, playwrights found ways of giving hints to the audience. This was done through the topicality of the subject matter, the satire of national types, the presence of the Vice and low-life characters, and scattered references to places and things English. Dramatists did not need to be too obvious to enable their allegorically-minded spectators to interpret the generalized treatment of certain issues in terms of those of their own time and country.

John Heywood's Witty and Witless (1533) and A Play of Love (1533) provide examples of 'pure' world settings, unlocalized in time and space. These are secular plays of discussion, in which locality is not particularly relevant due to the paucity of action, and which deal with non-religious, non-political subjects.¹⁷ Consequently, the Englishness of the setting is not stressed by their texts.

Though Rastell's Gentleness and Nobility (1527) and Heywood's The Play of the Weather (1528) may also be termed secular plays of discussion, their debates unfold against a native background, though no English setting is overtly declared. Gentleness and Nobility features three representatives of any European society of the time: a knight, a merchant, and a ploughman. Yet, as they exchange their viewpoints - and even blows - the audience is allowed a series of insights into its own society. The privileges demanded by the Knight, the Merchant's aspirations to the same privileges, and the Ploughman's bitter complaints against the

Establishment are all voiced in an unlocalized setting. But their topical implications are so obvious that this interlude has been interpreted as examining 'English society from an exaggeratedly iconoclastic viewpoint'.¹⁸

The Play of the Weather also possesses representatives of different social classes, and deals with conflicts among them, but in a lighter, more humorous vein. In spite of the presence of Jupiter, the action takes place on earth. The setting is supposed to encompass the whole world, as is suggested by the god's order to his messenger Merry Report to publish his pleasure 'to every nation' (p.98). Yet the vastness of these promised regions dwindles down to England when Merry Report relates the extent of his travels, and lists all the places he has been to :

At Louvain, at London and in Lombardy,
At Baldock, at Barfold, and in Barbary,
At Canterbury, at Coventry, at Colchester,
At Wandsworth and Welbeck, at Westchester,
At Fulham, at Faleborne, and at Fenlow,....
Ynge Gyngiang Jayberd the parish of Butsbury.
(pp.99-100)

The narrowing of the setting almost exclusively to England implies that 'the people of all nations' who parade before the audience have all come from within the national boundaries. Their English identity is underlined by their respective speeches, and Merry Report's comments on them.

Later in the action, the last suitor - a boy named 'little Dick' - calls attention to the fact that Jupiter is actually in a Tudor hall:

Where they heard one say in a cry
That my godfather, God Almighty,
Was come from heaven, by his own accord,
This night to sup here with my lord,
(p.127)

'Here' and 'my lord' probably refer to Henry VIII's court,¹⁹ the setting of the action being thus far narrowed down. From this point onwards

the indefinite locality of the staged fiction becomes clearly identified, and fused with the reality of the world of the audience. Throughout the interlude, the mythological heaven lies in the background. It is conveyed not only through the presence of the god, but also through scattered allusions to it. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this play, with its extended analogy to Henry VIII in his function of governor of the realm,²⁰ is deeply rooted in England.

The author of Calisto and Melibea (1527) succeeded in removing the foreign elements of the Spanish setting of his original, but failed to anglicize it convincingly. The events happen in a social vacuum, indeterminate as far as place and time are concerned, as vague references to 'this city' (p.77) and 'this region' (p.86) make clear. The Englishness of the setting of this interlude can only be conveyed through the circumstances of theatrical presentation, though the bawdy Celestina and the Vice-like Sempronio can bring the action down to the place of performance through their free communication with the spectators.

The 'Wit interludes' - Wit and Science (1539), The Marriage of Wit and Science (1568), and The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom (1579) - have been correctly linked with the so-called romantic interludes of the 1570s.²¹ Both groups of plays share the values of courtly love and knight errantry, and present a journey or a series of journeys that the hero has to undertake in order to obtain his lady's love. The 'Wit interludes' differ from the romantic ones in the localities chosen for the journey: whereas in the latter the action moves from one place to another, providing the play with a panoramic setting, in the former, though there is a journey, it is undertaken in allegorical regions - for example, the journey to Mount Parnassus in Wit and Science (ll.958-9).²² Since in Wit and Science and The Marriage of Wit and Science the allegory

is consistently sustained, the words of the text supply little to reinforce the spectators' consciousness of an English locality; this would be suggested, of course, by the circumstances of theatrical presentation. It is worth remarking, however, that in Wit and Science Ignorancy states that he was born in England (l.457). The fact is that the romantic influence on these two educational allegories contributed to their completely unrealistic atmosphere and diffusiveness of place.

The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom is the exception in the group. Though still unlocalized geographically, its idea of place is far more concretely realized. There are two plots, each with its own setting, linked by the figure of the Vice Idleness who moves in both. The main plot is the domain of the allegorical characters who are, however, realistically anglicized. As has been noticed, 'Wit's parents, Severity and Indulgence, are quite plainly an honest English couple, anxious to see their son well settled in marriage. Idleness, in particular, is a genuine Elizabethan rogue'.²³ But, in spite of the Englishness of the characters, the setting is only vaguely alluded to,²⁴ and the journey undertaken by Wit happens in unnamed localities.

In the secondary plot, however, the action is firmly located in an English setting. In its first scene there are two native ruffians, Snatch and Catch, who inform the audience that they are sailors, and that they have changed localities: 'Now we are come from Flushing to the English port'.(l.283). Another scene occurs in a rural area inhabited by English rustic characters such as Doll, Lob, and Mother Bee. While Doll and Lob are kissing in the barn, Idleness steals Mother Bee's porridge-pot. She beats her servants, and labels Lob 'a Kentish man' (l.624). The two scenes supply the secondary plot with a vivid sense

of native locality.

Lusty Juventus (1550), a post-Reformation interlude, develops its salvation theme in a world setting. By stressing the necessity for the adoption by the hero of the Protestant doctrine, the author eliminates a cosmic orientation in favour of a world one. Nevertheless, the social context in which the characters interact is unlocalized: the text does not supply any clue where the action might take place, and there are no topographical allusions. Nor do any of the characters bear English names, though Hypocrisy mockingly calls Juventus 'a Sir John' (1.616), and refers to the prostitute Abominable Living as 'little Bess' (1.753). Yet, the corruption scenes are played against a familiar though not overtly stated English background. Unlike other heroes, Juventus is tempted by food rather than drink. Hypocrisy invites him to breakfast, offering him well-known delicacies :

And I warrant thee if we have not a pie,
We shall have a pudding.
(11.707-8)

To which Juventus responds enthusiastically :

You may draw me about the town with a pudding.
(1.710)

After the above dialogue, it is very easy for Hypocrisy and Fellowship to attract the hero to Abominable Living's house to effect his fall. In this interlude, as in Nature, the Englishness of the setting is mainly fostered by the presence of certain characters. The Vices of the play give it a native atmosphere, although this is not sustained throughout the action.

The Trial of Treasure (1567), in spite of its obvious wordly atmosphere, keeps the cosmic setting in the background. This is mainly

due to its thematic concern with Man's soul, and the presence of characters such as God's Visitation. It is noticeable, however, that although interested in Man's other life, this mid-century interlude with its emphasis on earthly happiness/ indicates that the philosophy of the Tudor world was changing. This can be clearly inferred from the exchange between Trust and Just towards the end of the play :

Trust. Receive this crown of felicity now at this space,
Which shall be made richer at the celestial place

Just. Now praised be God for this riches of renown;
Felicity, in this world, the just doth enjoy.
(pp.243-4)

It may be concluded that, if the main reason for living a good life is located in this world, the action loses much of its overall cosmic design. There is no indication of locality in the text, but Englishness creeps in through topographical allusions such as Smithfield (p.210), Salisbury and the weathercock of Paul's (p.211), and the presence of the Vices, one of whom -Greedy Gut - is depicted as a countryman speaking rustic English, which would emphasize the familiarity of his figure. Also Lust, the other hero of the play, is meant to be a portrait of the native gallant. It seems likely that a contemporary audience would have little difficulty in locating the action of The Trial of Treasure.

Nathaniel Woodes, the author of The Conflict of Conscience (1572) , goes against two growing tendencies of the later interludes: to individualize personified abstractions and to localize the action more precisely. In his play not only does he allegorize the main character of his source story, transforming him into a universal type (Philologus), but he also abandons Italy for a less geographically defined locality. This last remark questions David Bevington's statement that 'Woodes exchanges the Italian setting of his chief source, Francisco Spira' autobiography, for a northern

English locale where conservative religious tendencies were unusually pronounced'.²⁵ The critic has inferred the northern English setting from the strongly anti-Catholic plot, and the presence of Caconos, a Catholic priest who speaks with a presumably northern accent.²⁶ Yet, the English or northern English setting could only be suggested in performance for the text itself is rather vague with regard to the exact location of the action. The playwright allows his characters to refer to 'this land' without specifying it (II.2.358,438; V.2.1683). The setting of the play comes closest to seeming clearly English when the audience is informed that 'the legate from the Pope of Rome is come into our coasts' (III.1.704), and, with the only topographical allusion found in the whole play: 'Farewell three false knaves as between this and London' (III.4.952). It seems appropriate that once the author had decided to universalize the main character, he should also displace the story from a geographical, delimited locality to a vague, unlocalized one. On the whole, he succeeds; yet, his anti-Catholic bias and characters like Caconos and the Papistical Vices manage to colour the undefined setting with hints of Englishness.

All for Money (1577) shows its author's reluctance to particularize the ideas of time and place as boundaries of the action. Using five different types of dramatic episode to illustrate the same moral point (explicit in the title), Lupton dispenses altogether with the temporal and spatial contexts in the first three episodes and in the last one. In his initial allegorical scene he puts such characters as Art, Science and Theology on the stage, followed by Money, Pleasure, Sin and Damnation in the second scene. They move in a vacuum, no notion of place being hinted at. The same may be said about the third scene, a debate shared among four allegorical characters, reminiscent of some plays of discussion like Heywood's Witty and Witless and A Play of Love. The fourth scene

occurs in the law-court presided over by the corrupt Judge All-for-Money. The Englishness of the setting is mainly conveyed by the satire of native legal courts, and by a parade of a cross-section of English society, representing both town and countryside. With the exception of Moneyless-and-Friendless, and Mother Croote, all the other characters answer to typically English alliterative names: the cutpurse Gregory Graceless, the countryman William-With-The-Two-Wives, the franklin Nichol-Never-Out-Of-Law, and the priest Sir Lawrence Livingless. Mother Croote stresses her nativeness by speaking in rustic idiom; Sir Lawrence underlines his by inveighing against St. Paul's Epistles and the New Testament in English :

.... I would they were all burned!
For had not they been, and the New Testament in English
I had not lacked living at this time, I wis.
(11.1186-8)

The last scene is a dramatization from the Bible with the characters of Judas and Dives. It is too short to build up any sense of locality: no sooner do the two characters finish their lamentation than Damnation drives them out.

Owing to its multiple structure, this interlude fails to convey any definite idea of setting. Only in the fourth episode does it succeed in limiting the place of action to a law-court, made English by satire and by association with the characters who successively visit it. This means that the sense of a native locality of the other scenes depends a great deal on the circumstances of theatrical presentation.

Though it can be classified as a romantic interlude The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune (1582) differs from Clyomon and Clamydes and Common Conditions - to be discussed later - because of its structure. Instead of the 'panoramic structure', with its ever-changing localities, which

characterizes the latter plays, the former presents a frame structure with alternating settings. The mythological setting frames the earthly one, and alternates with it, though in the end, both coalesce. Venus and Fortune patch up their Olympian quarrels and come to earth to disentangle things for the mortals, each in her role of dea ex machina.

Although the framed earthly setting still has room for the love story and the marvellous, it does not encompass different places in the world, irrespective of geography. The characters interact in one single unlocalized and unnamed country, chosen by Jupiter as the battleground of the goddesses :

Here in this land within that princely bower,
There is a Prince beloved of his love,
On whom I mean your sovereignties to prove.
(p.158)

In spite of the fact that the action is concentrated on a duchy, the consciousness of place is very slightly developed. There is some obvious foreignness introduced by Bomelio's disguise as a foreign doctor speaking broken English, and hints of Englishness are conveyed in the scenes involving the Vice-like parasite Penulo and the servant Lentulo. Nevertheless, in the text, the overall idea of place is neither foreign nor native. In this neutral setting there is a further alternation of the action between court and wood. The latter is definitely romantically coloured, being the meeting-place of the lovers, and the dwelling-place of the marvellous, represented by Bomelio's magic; the former provides a more realistic setting for situations such as court intrigues. This is a new orientation given to the features of romantic plays, as Patricia Russell has written: 'the fanciful, the marvellous, and the sudden shifts in mood are given dramatic immediacy by placing the characters not in the never-never land of the Isle of Strange Marshes but in realms and situations

which resemble life on the audience's side of the stage'.²⁷

As has been suggested, the idea of a native place is not convincingly established either in the framing setting of Olympus with its gods and goddesses, or in the framed one inhabited by dukes, courtiers, and magicians, all involved in a love story. In spite of certain realistic touches, the predominantly romantic nature of the subject means that a sense of Englishness can only be conveyed through the conditions of performance.

3. The Foreign Setting

It may be said that the atmosphere of the foreign stories of the interludes is English, since, in general, there is no effort on the part of the authors to give any local colour to their settings. Furthermore, informed by their didactic view of art, motivated by their concern with the Commonwealth, and guided by the underlying conventions of their drama, these playwrights constantly interpret the remote and the exotic in terms of the near and the familiar. Consequently, native characters abound in supposedly strange lands, and anachronistic and topographical allusions make several incursions into the texts, translating foreignness into Englishness.

There are two main possible reasons why foreign stories made their way into this home-oriented drama. The first is that it saved dramatists the trouble of creating temporal and spatial contexts for their plays, for they found them ready-made in the sources. The second is that playwrights found it useful to be able to offer an oblique criticism of their contemporary situation by presenting similar problems in a foreign setting. Two main types of foreign setting may be distinguished: one which relates to places associated with the world of romance and legend, and the other,

which relates to places actually belonging to the world of geography.

3.1 The Setting of Romance and Legend

In discussing the interludes with settings provided by the world of romance and legend, a further subdivision is helpful. There is one group of plays with stories supplied by the romances, and another with stories taken out of the Bible.

3.1.1 The Romantic Setting

The foreignness of the settings of the romantic interludes is mostly fantastical, and the sense of a firmly realized locality is very slight on account of the frequent changes of scene. These are dictated by the narrative sources, in which the action takes the hero and/or the heroine on a series of journeys, shifting localities very freely without realizing any of them convincingly. Furthermore, the localities of the journeys and adventures are geographically unlimited, making it more difficult for authors to create an effective spatial context.

In Clyomon and Clamydes (1570), the adventures of the heroes take them to such places as 'Marofus Isle', and, in Common Conditions (1576), a series of events happen in similar ungeographical regions such as 'Suavia', and the 'Isle (or Kingdom) of Strange Marshes'. It is not precisely accurate to say that 'the action of both takes place in the never-never land of the fabulous tale, ten leagues beyond man's life';²⁸ for side by side with places 'in the never-never land', are those actually within the limits of geography: either contemporary, as Arabia in Common Conditions, and Denmark and Norway in Clyomon and Clamydes; or, ancient, as Phrygia and Thrace in the former interlude, and Macedonia in the latter. Yet, it must be said that these geographical regions, inaccessible and

remote in place and time, become 'fabulous' on account of the exotic picture their very names evoke.²⁹⁻

Tied to stories oriented towards the selective, aristocratic values of knight errantry and courtly love, and further bound by a continuous novelty of unrealistic settings, it was difficult for playwrights not to distance themselves from the realities of contemporary England. Thus, it is hardly surprising to find the text of Common Conditions little permeated by Englishness. There are no topographical allusions, and the anglicization of the setting is caused by associations with characters. They are the tinkers, characteristically named Shift, Drift, and Thrift, who make a brief appearance at the beginning of the play, and the Vice Common Conditions, who is present throughout the action. When he is absent, foreignness is conveyed by the broken English of Montagos, a non-specified alien,³⁰ and by scattered allusions to Greek mythology and literature, suggestive of a vague hellenistic background.

Nevertheless, in spite of the nature of the romantic interludes, the author of Clyomon and Clamydes manages to anglicize thoroughly the place of one part of the action. This occurs when the play's panoramic setting is invaded by Corin's rural England. Corin is a shepherd who, though living in 'Norway', speaks rustic idiom and inhabits an English-coloured rural world. This can be seen in his long speech to Nerone - disguised as a page - which deserves to be quoted rather extensively.

Thous go to church in this coate, bevore Madge a
sonday in her gray gown.
God lord how our church-wardens will looke upon thee,
bones of god zeest,
There will be more looking at thee, then our sir
John the parish preest.
Why everybody wil aske whose boy thart, an cha can
tel the this by the way,
Thou shalt have al the varest wenches of our town in
the veelds vor to play.
Theres nabour Nychols daughter, a jolly smug whore
with vat cheekes,

And nabour Hodges maide, meddle not with her, she
hath eaten set leekes.
But theres Frumptions wench in the freese sacke,
it will do thee good to see
What canvosing is at the milking time, betweene
her and mee.

(11.1320-8)

The attending of church on Sunday, with the service conducted by a parish priest typically called Sir John, the reference to characters like Madge and the neighbours Nichol, Hodge and Frumpton, plus allusions to 'playing in the field' and 'milking time' foster a vivid picture of the English countryside, enhanced by Corin's rustic accent. This scene introduces a parenthetical Englishness into the multi-foreign setting of Clyomon and Clamydes.

3.1.2 The Biblical Setting

The Biblical setting, in a way, shares the geographical vagueness of the romantic one, since both convey the sense of far-off places and remote times. The difference between the two lies in the atmosphere. The multiple setting of the romantic interludes, with its lack of a firmly-grounded consciousness of time and place, makes for the creation of an overall indefinite atmosphere. In the Biblical interludes, however, the familiar events, characters and localities of the Old and New Testaments delimit - to a certain extent - the boundaries of time and place within which the stories unfold. Consequently, the Biblical world, with its powerful associations, creates its own atmosphere without exactly making the locality precise.

The overall religious atmosphere, however, is permeated by Englishness. Interlude-writers follow the path trodden by their medieval counterparts in their attempts to anglicize the places of sacred history. By transplanting characters and events from their Hebrew setting to a contemporary

English one, these authors make their drama more meaningful and immediate to their Tudor audiences. Yet, as V. A. Kolve warns us in his comment on the mystery cycles, 'knowledge of medieval conceptions of historiography, the how and why of history writing, can prevent us from being too hasty in regarding anachronisms in the drama as arising merely from the need to make the story comprehensible to an unsophisticated audience'.³¹ For medieval historians, as well as for those of the Tudor period, the interest in the past consisted not in what it could teach about that past but how its history and examples could be used to improve the present and, though medieval dramatists, and later on interlude-writers, were not necessarily learned in the way of the historians, it may be said that 'both groups of writers valued the past for its present Christian relevance'.³²

With the exception of Godly Queen Hester (1527), all the Henrician Biblical interludes - the anonymous John the Evangelist (1520), Bale's Three Laws (1538), and his trilogy God's Promises (1538), John the Baptist (1538), and The Temptation of Our Lord (1538), plus the fragmentary Christ's Resurrection or The Resurrection of Our Lord (1545) - may be termed religious plays of discussion. Their rhetorical structure, similar to that of such secular plays as Witty and Witless and A Play of Love, does not demand a definite sense of locality for the action since it is mostly verbal.

To their scarcity of action Bale's trilogy and the fragment of Christ's Resurrection add a thorough seriousness of tone which excludes the possibility of Englishness impinging upon them through the comic characters. Nevertheless, the Vices make sure that nativeness breaks through the rhetorical barriers of John the Evangelist and even Bale's Three Laws. By their very presence, and their anachronistic and topographical allusions, they succeed in bringing these interludes into an English

context.

Evil Counsel, one of the Vices of John the Evangelist, relates how he has travelled the length and breadth of England :

I have sought England through and through
Village, town, city, and borough.
(p.361)

OK
? thorough

among the many places he has visited, he cites :

.... I came from Rochester .
(p.360)
By Our Lady! I will no more go to Coventry,
For there knaves set me on the pillory.
And threw eggs at my head
(p.360)
Sometimes in London did I dwell
(p.360)
In Cornwall I have been and in Kent,
Westminster, St. Catherine's
(p.361)

The Englishness of the Vice's anachronistic journeys is underlined by Eugenio's comment that :

The courtesy of England is oft to kiss,
And of itself it is lechery where pleasure is.
(pp.356-7)

Thus, the frequency of English geographical references, and allusions to such customs as throwing eggs at criminals and greeting women with a kiss, have led to the remark that 'the most interesting fact about the play is that it transports St. John to England to do his preaching'.³³

In the same way, the Vices impose nativeness on the rhetorical dramatization of the concept of law in Three Laws. They bring the exposition of the laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ closer to the English scene by identifying themselves with the local geography. For example :

By the blessed Rood of Kent!
(II.p.19)
Tush! they be in England that much rather
would to dwell
Whores in their dioceses, than the readers
of Christ's Gospel.
(III.p.44)

....At Norwich, will do their part.
(IV.p.59)

Thus, the Biblical world of the Old and New Testaments is deliberately narrowed down to England as the second quotation suggests. This conscious anglicization of the setting is again made clear when Pseudodoctrina comments :

Joannes Cremona, another good cardinal,
For reformation of the clergy spiritual
Came once into England
(IV.p.55)

The Henrician Godly Queen Hester (1527) shares with the Elizabethan King Darius (1565) and the fragment of The Cruel Debtor (1565) the characteristic of having a more firmly delineated idea of place. Their plots are mainly developed in a royal court, though these courts are not given a further definite localization by any attempt at local colour. What is noticeable in these three interludes is the frequency of allusions to England. The Vices, who voice these allusions, are again responsible for the incursions into nativeness. In Queen Hester, Pride, Adulation, and Ambition discuss the state of affairs in the realm of Israel in terms of English foreign policy :

Wherefore if war should chance, either with
Scotland or France,
This gear would not go right.
(p.265)

Further on, Adulation makes one of his comparisons effective by an anachronistic reference to a well-known English site :

Even as honestly,
As he that, from steyling, goeth to St. Thomas
Watering
In his young age.
(p.267)

His counterparts Iniquity and Partiality in King Darius are equally fond of expressing themselves in terms of the native géography :

Yea, truly thou art a holy man,
As is between this and Buckingham;
(p.45)

He hath as much lands, I warrant you,
As lieth between this and Southampton
(p.67)

Yea, I warrant thee, he is such a fellow
As is not hence to Peterborough.
(p.50).

The topicality of Queen Hester - already discussed in Chapter I - besides contributing to the anglicization of the setting, places this interlude among those which employ a foreign setting as a device to comment on national issues. As usual, this Englishness realized in terms of foreignness creates an interaction between the fictitious and the native scenes directly relevant to a contemporary audience.

London is often referred to in all three of these interludes. Even in the fragment of The Cruel Debtor Rigor is found saying :

To speke of good wyne, in London I dare say
Is no better wyne than thear was once to day.
(ll.131-2)

In Queen Hester, Hardy dardy adds another allusion to the one already mentioned:

They gave you all their pride and flattering,
And after that, Saint Thomas Watering, there
to rest a tide;
(p.276)

Iniquity in King Darius, when addressing Equity, does likewise :

Thy brethren be in Newgate, do not fear.
(p.69)

The above allusions not only reinforce the anglicization of the Biblical world but also introduce a new aspect of the treatment of setting in the

interludes. As E. H. Sugden's Topographical Dictionary records, Sa: Thomas a Watering was a place of execution on the outskirts of London and Newgate was a prison inside the city. As will be discussed below whenever London is alluded to in the interludes, it is generally its underworld which prevails.

The Marian interlude Jacob and Esau (1554) presents hints of an anglicized locality without making use either of the Vices' collaboration or of topographical references. This is the more interesting because the anonymous author of this interlude, among all those dramatizing sacred history, is the only one who seems genuinely concerned to give his Hebrew setting some local colour. This may be seen in the fact that his characters dwell in tents, are supposed to be dressed in 'Hebrew attire' (according to the author's own instructions), and generally use 'shekels' and 'talents', the coins of the Bible. They all have Hebrew names - including the minor characters who in other plays usually bear native appellations irrespective of nationality - and address their prayers to the God of the Old Testament.

Nevertheless, in spite of all the efforts towards Hebrew authenticity, Englishness creeps in: English money is occasionally employed, the greyhounds have English names, Abra prepares an English stew, and the herbs mentioned are those of any English garden. Ruth Blackburn has commented that 'Esau's stew has a rather English flavor, spiced as it is with rosemary, marigold and pennyroyal; and his dogs, Takepart, Swan and Lightfoot certainly sniffed the English soil'.³⁴ Thus, though not entirely successful in its rendering of the Biblical scene, Jacob and Esau still stands out among the other interludes. It is one of the very few which manages to foster a tension between illusion and reality as created by the coexistence of the foreign world of the play with the native one of the

audience.

The authors of The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene (1558) and Susanna (1569) rely on the suggestive power of their well-known stories to provide their interludes with a Biblical atmosphere without any attempt at local colour. There is, however, some intention to give their plots a Biblical habitation.

In the first interlude, the idea of place is still vague: there is a reference to Mary's visit to Jerusalem, where she goes with Infidelitas, but the action is not firmly localized. A more consistent effort at delineating the place of the action is found in Susanna: here the Babylon of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament is mentioned three times at the beginning of the interlude. Firstly, the Devil, after boasting of having the world at his will, sets his mind on a specific person in a specific locality:

But yet there is a wight,
In thee O Babilon,
Whose flesh or fleece if I may get,
How well were I begon,
(11.35-8)

Secondly, he confides to the Vice Ill Report :

Yet is there one in Babilon,
That never had no peere,
(11.78-9)

And, thirdly, the Vice himself, by his turn, confides to the audience :

There is in all this Babilon, but one that he
doth spye,
That feareth God, and eke my Dad in all his
workes defye.
(11.151-2)

It is worth noticing, however, that this insistence on localizing the action is completely forgotten as the play progresses; consequently, the interplay between the Biblical and the English worlds ceases to exist on a more consistent basis.

Englishness permeates the setting of The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene in a subtle way: there are no explicit allusions to places or people, but to customs and manners. As he makes Pride one of the Vices responsible for Mary's fall, the playwright takes the opportunity to satirize contemporary feminine fashion:

I would have you pleasant alway in your garments.
Upon your forehead you must weare a bon grace,
Which like a penthouse may com farre over your face;
And an other from your nose unto your throte,
Of velvet at the least, without spot or moate.
Your garments must be so worne alway
That your white pappes may be seene, if you may.
(11.583-9)

Infidelitas and his compeers - Pride, Cupidity, and Carnal Concupiscence - advise their victim on the use of cosmetics (11.560-5). They also suggest to her a contemporary way of doing her hair: she should curl it 'with a hotte nedle' (1.546), and wear it piled on her forehead 'the breadth of an hand' (1.540), and, in case its colour begins to fade she is advised to have it dyed (11.554-7). Yet, these anachronistic references are only present at the beginning of the play, and apart from the figures of the Vices there is no other reinforcement of the anglicization of the setting.

In Susanna, however, the anglicization of the Biblical setting is more extensively and overtly done. The chief agent in this - as is to be expected - is the Vice. He sows his nonsense talk thick with English place-names, such as 'Dover and Kent', 'Dunington and Dawbury', 'London and Powles', 'Fressingfield and Feversham', 'Norwich and Ludham' (11.462-70). He also tells Voluptas and Sensualitas that they can find his name 'twixt Ilfarde, Redding and Portsmouth' (1.518). And, when Voluptas fails to understand, Ill Report chides him :

Why whether I be friendly or no, in fayth thou arte foolish,
And mad to I thinke, that understandest not English,
(11.522-3)

Finally, one of the Vice's most remarkable demonstrations of 'verbal gymnastics' is done to convince True Report that they are related (11.1308-47); unable to convince his 'cousin', Ill Report concludes that 'this knave hath bene at Oxforde' (1.1351). Besides the Vice, the servant-girls also contribute to making the Biblical setting less exotic and more familiar: one of them describes court-life in terms of native life (11.616-30), and the other longs for her former life in the 'Babylonian' countryside inhabited by people named Gill and Jack (1.712). It may, then, be said that in Susanna, the initial attempt at suggesting a Biblical locale gives way to a sense of Englishness established by the dominating presence of the Vice, and the brief appearance of low-life characters.

A Looking-Glass for London and England (1590) is ostensibly set in the city of Nineveh, with short incursions into Judea and Joppa. Yet, as a reading of the text suggests, this late interlude by Lodge and Greene has its Biblical setting partly anglicized. As far as the circumstances of theatrical presentation are concerned, it may be argued that the staging conditions of the 1590s are a long way from those of the earlier interludes. Nevertheless, if in the public theatre Lodge's and Greene's characters no longer 'rubbed shoulders' with the spectators, the latter were still kept aware of their time-bound Tudor world by the authors' insistence on the direct address to London.

Englishness mainly invades the play's secondary plot, and it is conveyed by the handling of characterization. The episodes dealing with the usurer, the judge, the lawyer, and the blacksmith satirize native social types acting out their dishonest activities in a recognizably English atmosphere. Both the court and the city convey the total picture of a society deeply immersed in vice, irrespective of rank. Consequently, both plots provide exempla for the prophets' exhortations: Jonas addresses

himself chiefly to the Ninevites, whereas Oseas warns Londoners.

Besides the alternation of settings between the court of the main plot and the city of the secondary plot, it is feasible to speak of another alternation of settings between Nineveh and London. The action happens in Nineveh, but the recurrent exhortations to London bring this city into the foreground though no part of the play's action actually occurs there. The juxtaposition of settings may be illustrated by the interlude's final warning :

O London, mayden of the Mistresse Ile,
Wrapt in the foldes and swathing cloutes of shame,
In thee more Sinnes then Ninivie containes.
(V.5.2265-7)

The interplay between the illusion of Nineveh (though not consistently maintained) and the reality of London can be achieved because of the play's structure. After every scene displaying an exemplum of sin and folly, Oseas utters a sermon of admonition to London - ten altogether, scattered throughout the play. Thus A Looking-Glass for London and England gained dramatic significance for a Tudor audience, not only because of its topical theme but also because of the consistent handling of the relationship between the Ninevite and the London worlds.

3.2 The Foreign Setting Proper

Under the above heading two groups of interludes will be discussed: those which take place in localities pertaining to the world of Antiquity, and those situated in places known to Renaissance geography. It is obvious that this subdivision is bound up with the idea of time.

3.2.1 The Ancient Setting

The world of Antiquity is represented in the interludes by Rome, Greece and Persia. The authors who chose them for the settings of their stories,

like those who dealt with Biblical themes, relied on the vivid associations that the very names of these places would presumably convey to endow them with the appropriate atmosphere. But, on the whole, there are few consistent attempts at local colour, and Englishness makes its incursion into the settings of all these interludes.

The Roman settings of Fulgens and Lucres (1497) and Appius and Virginia (1564) are both anglicized. The process of anglicization emphasizes different techniques to achieve the same effect, though with a variation in degree. In Fulgens and Lucres, Henry Medwall deliberately exploits the hall where the theatrical presentation would take place. The servant 'B', when narrating the argument of the play, is clear about its fictitious location :

When the empire of Rome was in such flower
That all the world was subject to the same,
(pt.I.70-1)

All the city of Rome did him honour and reverence.
(pt.I.125)

In spite of his situating the play in imperial Rome, its frame structure makes it obvious that what Medwall intends is the unequivocal transposition of the action to contemporary England. The setting of the framing plot is a Tudor hall where a banquet is taking place. The constant extra-dramatic addresses mainly by the servants 'A' and 'B' who step in and out of 'Rome' permeates the interlude, and the actual place of performance is constantly emphasized to keep the action firmly rooted in the English scene. As Anne Righter has observed, 'Lucres and her suitors gesture vainly towards their own far-off time and country, but in the end they speak clearly only of the long tables in the Cardinal's hall at Lambeth, the guests, the bustle of servants, and the great fire blazing against the December cold'.³⁵

Other anachronisms underline the anglicization of the

setting in part one: the Christian frame of reference (especially in 11.202-43), allusions to places like York (1.845) and Kent (1.1109), and the parody of a jousting for the love of the 'Roman' handmaid Joan, (11.1154-210). Though deliberately aiming his interlude at a contemporary time and English place, the author could not explicitly affirm before his aristocratic spectators, that 'a churl's son should be more noble than a gentleman born' (pt.I.129-31). He may be using the foreignness of his setting as a means of avoiding giving offence. Thus, he makes his character 'B' assert that there is no problem with regard to the audience, since the interlude deals with 'patricians' and 'plebeians' (pt.I.177-80). Medwall may also be using the foreign scene as a way of contrasting the play's satirical vision of the contemporary English world and the fictive world of the play represented by the idealized and virtuous Roman characters. Yet, as these foreigners turn out to be English, it is not so much time and place that distinguish them from the audience but the fact that they are paragons of virtue.³⁶ Whatever the case may be, there is no doubt that Medwall, like other interlude-writers who deal with topical themes, employs the foreign setting as a deliberate device to elicit a response from the members of the audience. Whether they saw similarities or contrasts between their world and the world of the play, the fact remains that they were establishing a creative relationship, and enhancing the dramatic meaning.

If Medwall continuously calls attention to the place of performance to bring the remoteness of his story closer to the native scene, the author of Appius and Virginia leans more heavily on the anachronism of the text and associations with characters. It is true that he sprinkles his text with a few classical allusions, but these attempts at local colour are not consistently maintained nor is the action ostensibly localized in Rome.

Though the characters address the gods, Virginia and her mother go to church. Mansipulus and Mansipula are two English servants who betray their nativeness through their behaviour and topographical allusions. The former familiarly calls the latter 'Maud Mumble-turd, that mange-pudding Marge' (p.12). When Mansipulus reports to the Vice Haphazard how he has fooled his master, his description abounds in English names, and the fact that he retains native place-names as points of reference (p.28) reminds the audience that he has never inhabited Rome. As usual, the presence of the Vice further stresses the anglicization of the setting. Though the anglicization of the Roman setting of Fulgens and Lucre is more ingeniously and completely achieved than in Appius and Virginia, there is no doubt that the characters of the latter, in spite of their Roman names, have transported themselves to the native scene.

The settings of Thersites (1537), Damon and Pithias (1565), Horestes (1567), and The Cobbler's Prophecy (1590) are all supposed to be Greek.³⁷ Nevertheless, they all have an English atmosphere.

In Thersites, whatever associations with classical Greece the name of the title-hero might suggest, they disappear as the play progresses. Excepting the references to a few Homeric personages, everything else points to England. Thersites, 'a ruffler forth of the Greek land', strolls about the streets of London:

Early and late I will walk,
And London streets stalk,

(pp.200-1)

When he plans to have fun with his friends they all turn out to be English, with typical alliterative names such as Andrew All-Knave, David Doughty, Frederic Furberer, Henry Heartless and Robin Rover. They may come from Tunis or Antwerp as well as from Tewkesbury or Sudeley (pp.217-18). In

his boasts the hero offers battle to well-known figures of the British romances such as Bevis of Hampton, King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table (p.199); he also challenges the folk heroes 'Robin John' and 'Little Hood' (p.206). All these anachronisms betray a deliberate intention on the part of the author to provoke laughter. Thersites's Greek world is not to be taken seriously.

The Syracusan setting of Damon and Pithias is further localized when the action is partially transferred to a royal court, ruthlessly dominated by the despotic Dionysius. Afraid of the possible associations with the native royal court by his allegorically-minded countrymen, the dramatist eagerly pleads in the prologue for the foreignness of his setting to be taken literally :³⁸

Wherein talking of courtly toys, we do protest
this flat,
We talk of Dionysius court, we mean no court
but that
No, this I speak for our defence, lest of others
we should be shent:
But, worthy audience, we you pray, take things
as they be meant;

(p.13)

The consequent necessity of keeping Syracuse in the foreground may have prompted the author to make his characters indicate the setting of the action whenever possible. In his speech the Prologue not only locates the action, but also - exceptionally in the interludes - tries to paint an imaginary scene :³⁹

Lo, here in Syracuse th'ancient town, which
once the Romans won,
Here Dionysius palace, within whose court this
thing most strange was done.

(p.12)

Then Damon thanks Neptune for his safe arrival in Syracuse (p.22), and it is Stephano's turn to remind the audience of the place of the action :

.... and this day arrived
At Syracuse in Sicilia, that ancient town,
Where my masters are lodged.
(p.26).

Besides Carisophus's mentioning Sicilia twice (p.35 and p.39), there are also several references to Greece and things Greek in an effort to provide the story with a Hellenistic background.

These attempts at local colour, however, are not always a barrier to keep Englishness out of the setting of the play. In spite of the prayers to the 'mighty gods', the frame of reference is still Christian, and characters swear 'by our Lady' and 'God's precious lady'. The lackeys are called Jack and Will, and the tipstaff, Snap; the executioner, though named Gronno, belongs to the native contemporary scene, as will be suggested in the following chapter. Nevertheless, Englishness only fully takes hold of the setting when Grim, a Croydon collier, enters Syracuse. He speaks rustic English, makes fun of contemporary fashion, and talks about his life with his wife Alison and of the pleasure of turning crabs in the fire (pp.69-84). Finally, the words of a song provide an effective comparison in terms of local experience: 'here is the trimmest hog's flesh from London to York' (p.82). In those moments, the audience is left in no doubt where the action is really taking place.

Like Jacob and Esau, Damon and Pithias is one of the rare interludes able to maintain a delicate balance between the fictive play world and the world of reality. This does not mean that this balance is always kept: a character like Grim destroys any idea of foreignness. Yet, from the beginning, the members of the audience are invited to transport themselves to a far-off past and a strange land to witness :

.... a thing once done indeed, as histories
do descry,
Which done of yore in long time past, yet present
shall be here,
Even as it were in doing now, so lively it shall appear.
(p.12)

And, thanks to the efforts of the playwright, who keeps encouraging the spectators to build up an illusory setting, the significance of the dramatic action is enhanced by the cross-references between the Syracusan and the Tudor worlds. The problem of tyranny is objectified since it is seen at a distance; and, yet, it corresponds to the contemporary interest in good government at home.

Horestes, like Thersites, evokes powerful images of classical Greece by the suggestiveness of its very title. Again, like Thersites, it has its Hellenic setting invaded by Englishness. The appearance of Rusticus and Hodge at the beginning of the play starts off the process of anglicization. With their rustic speech and habits, these two characters bring the atmosphere of rural England into the classical world. Besides them, the Vice, the pages significantly called Dicke Haultersycke and Jacke Hempstringe, the Christian oaths and the fact that Horestes's wedding was celebrated in a church, underline the anglicization of the setting. Moreover, the author introduces - by reference - that most popular character of the English underworld, the cutpurse. In a locality where classical Greek characters exist side by side with English popular ones, it is not surprising to hear of the cutpurse, a 'cousin' of the Vice's :

Farwell cosen cutpursse, and be ruled by me,
Or elles you may chaunce, to end on a tre.
(11.1315-16)

In The Cobbler's Prophecy, the action oscillates between the mythological and the earthly settings. It is interesting to notice that, in both settings, the story is further localized in courts: the gods' and the Duke's. Acting as a link between the two localities is the English rustic figure of 'Raph Cobler', who can also step in and out of the worlds of the play. The earthly setting is Boeotia, made clear when Ceres asks Mercury :

Tell, for thou witst, why these celestiall powers
Are thus assembled in Boeotia.

(11.8-9)

Nevertheless, as Alan C. Dessen points out, 'although the scene ostensibly is Boetia, Wilson presents his social thesis here by having the vice, Contempt practise his wiles upon selected types of sixteenth-century society'.⁴⁰

Perhaps to alleviate the topical satire on the decline of English virtue the author is careful to make his characters mention Boeotia throughout the play (1.9, 1.13, 1.207, 1.287, 1.918, 1.1216, 1.1394, 1.1402, 1.1598, 1.1621, and 1.1626); though, apart from references to the fictive setting of the play, there is no attempt at providing it with local colour. The text also suggests that/ the playwright wants to make it obvious that in order to appraise current national problems, he has turned to a country buried in the remoteness and foreignness of the world of Antiquity. This is mainly achieved through the handling of the characterization of 'Raph', a typically English low-class figure, who is at the centre of the action of the play. Thus, native issues are sharpened by being transferred - however imperfectly - to a distant setting, which the spectators are constantly reminded of. Consequently, they are encouraged to keep in mind the existence of the two worlds: the parallel between Boeotia and England becomes part of the overall meaning of the play.

Cambises (1561) has been described as 'an Elizabethan hyperbole of ancient Persia'.⁴¹ Its setting is the Persia of the sixth century B.C. Like the interlude just discussed, and Damon and Pithias, the action is further localized in a royal court. Like the Syracusan Dionysius, King Cambises is a tyrant. Yet, unlike the author of Damon and Pithias, the present author does not ask for his ancient Persian setting to be taken literally: Englishness is freely introduced. The Vice Ambidexter, present

throughout the play, alludes anachronistically to 'Wilkin Wren' (p.176), 'Watling Street' and 'Bishop Bonner' (pp.243-4). And, once more, he brings the Elizabethan cutpurse into the ancient foreign world of the play by addressing him often (p.209, p.216, and p.234). Nevertheless, it is the setting of the subplot which proves to be entirely anglicized. It is inhabited by such characters as the ruffians Huff, Ruff, and Snuff, who maintain the action in England through their behaviour and anachronistic oaths. This anglicized setting also has room for the countrymen Hob and Lob with their rustic speech, and Hob's wife, characteristically named Marian-May-Be-Good. And, for a final proof that these inhabitants of 'Persia' have entirely identified themselves with native geography, Hob boasts thus of the pork he has for sale: 'there is no vatter between this and York' (p.219).

3.2.2 The Renaissance Setting

The interludes having stories which take place in what may be called the Renaissance setting are Patient Grissell (1559), Misogonus (1570), and The Glass of Government (1575).

Patient Grissell's semi-historical, semi-legendary story happens in the marquessate of Salustia in Italy. The action, as has been seen in other interludes, is mainly developed in a royal court. There are recurrent references to Salustia (1.73, 1.78, 1.567, 1.579, 1.588, 1.984, 1.1278, 1.1378, 1.1686, 1.1689, and 1.1998), and scattered mentions of Bologna and Panagro, but there is no attempt to provide the play with an Italian atmosphere. On the other hand, the anglicization of the setting is slight. Its agent is the Vice, who introduces Englishness into the Salustian world by narrating to the audience what happened to him when he fell from heaven :

Throughe the thicke cloudes I had a merveilous fall,
That I had lyke to broke my necke on the tope of westminster hall
But charinge crosse was my frende and caught my lege in his hand
The wethercocke of Paules to ayd me to his flight
(11.48-51) ? tookel

Nevertheless, apart from the above topographical allusions, and the remark that women are 'the craftiest cattell in Christendome or Kent (1.433)', the Vice does not underline the Englishness of his presence with specific references to the native scene. As the interlude's interest centres on the romantic theme of Grissell's sufferings and her patience, the audience is not encouraged to draw parallels between the fictive world of the action and its own real world. Thus, in spite of the several reminders of the foreign setting, the idea of place becomes blurred in the text, being neither exactly foreign nor native.

The scene where the action of Misogonus occurs is plainly stated in the prologue :

Whilum there in Laurentum dwelte a towne of antike fame
in Italye a countrey earst renounde with troiane knightes
a gentleman

(11.21-3)

This seems to place the interlude in an Italian setting. Yet, as R. Warwick Bond has pointed out, the frame of reference is predominantly English. This is attested by a series of English names and characters (the obvious ones being the low-life figures, the priest Sir John and the Vice-like fool), allusions to English places and customs, plus a faithful picture of native country life, and insights into the religious problems of the England of the time.⁴² Thus, it is possible to say that the English rural setting, though not ostensibly the place of the action, ousts its Italian counterpart entirely.

The Glass of Government is peculiar in being one of the few interludes

in which a stage direction - by the author - locates the action. Under the list of the dramatis personae is written : 'the Comedie to be presented as it were in Antwerpe'. But, in accordance with the principle set out in the introduction to this chapter that the idea of setting cannot be derived exclusively from stage directions, it is necessary to look into the text. The dialogue supports the author's intention of making Antwerp the scene of his play. For example, Eccho tells Dick Drumme, who is thinking of going to Douai :

To Doway? nay get me further from Antwarpe, then I may see the smoke of the chymnies, and they have good lucke. Tush tush, Doway is a pelting towne packed full of poore Skollers, who thinke a payre of cast hosen a greate reward, but Antwarp for my money. I tell yee trueth, there are not many townes in Europe that mainteyne more jollytie then Antwarpe.

(p.66)

In spite of this explicitly-stated Antwerp setting, however, Englishness permeates the action through the handling of characterization, and topical and topographical references. To affirm this is to go against C. F. Tucker Brooke's view of the play, for he declares that 'nowhere does the play reflect any truth of English character or any situation from contemporary English life'.⁴³ But support is available from a more recent critic, A. Bronson Feldman, whose comment on the anglicized setting of this interlude deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

Most of the characters in The Glass, particularly the wicked, are English to the core. The harlot Lamia is said to be from Valencia, and dwells in a red house near St. Michael's Church in Antwerp, but she talks like a London whore. So do her attendants, Eccho and Pandarina; and their pimp, the 'Royster' Dick Drome is obviously an English vice. Though Eccho swears 'by the fayth of a true Burgondyan' (I.5) he makes casual allusions that only Gasgoigne's audience would have understood, to 'Robyn Fletcher', for instance, and 'the sweete Roode of Chester' (II.4). Another minor personage of the play is named Ambidexter, after the famous vice of Thomas Preston's comical tragedy Cambises (1560).⁴⁴

Although it may be said that the anglicization of the Antwerp setting is not

so complete as in the case of Misogonus, the sense of a foreign locality is hardly sustained in The Glass of Government.

4. The English Setting Proper

The anglicized setting of the interludes studied so far can be called 'an English setting by incursion' since none of the plots literally takes place in the geographical, political, and social entity known as England. The plays to be discussed in this section are all actually placed in England. This is mainly to be deduced from the words of the text, and supported by the handling of characterization. It will be suggested how references to England and the English way of life underline - in varying measure - the sense of actuality conveyed by the plays.

The change from a cosmic setting to an English one cannot be linked to any sort of chronological progression. As has already been indicated, the action of Mankind (1465-1470) illustrates how the cosmic setting is temporarily transposed to the countryside of East Anglia. Also, in The World and the Child (1508), the text leaves no doubt that some of the earliest moral interludes had already found a habitation in England, in general, and in London, in particular. The dramatists' intentions in dealing overtly with the English setting cannot, of course, be ascertained with confidence. Yet it is possible to suggest that they vary according to the main concern of the play. If this concern is moral, social or political, the localization of the action in England makes the play's message more striking and direct; if it is farcical, since comedy is generally local, it is easier to provoke laughter by unfolding the story in the native scene.

In this discussion, a further sub-division will be used. There are some interludes which encompass the whole nation, or are set in a non-

specified part of it, whereas others are definitely located in the countryside or in London.

4.1 The Nation: the Commonwealth

Many interludes more preoccupied with moral than social problems are set in England. To the already mentioned Mankind and The World and the Child, can be added Hickscorner (1513), Youth (1520), Impatient Poverty (1547) and New Custom (1571). 9

The author of Hickscorner makes it very clear that the setting of his play is England :

We met of ships a great navy,
Full of people that would into Ireland;
And they came out of this country:
They will never more come to England.
(p.137)

Hickscorner informs his two new compeers that hatred 'hath made a vow for ever to dwell in England' (p.139), while Pity complains that

Like heretics we occupy other men's wives,
Now-a-days in England.
(p.145)

and Contemplation asks Pity to seek the young heroes 'throughout all the realm of England' (p.147).

Besides several topographical allusions (l.231, l.233, l.252, l.253, l.254, l.594 and l.595), the author of Youth provides one statement that explicitly locates the story in the native setting :

That I know I was never bond
Unto none in England.
(ll.705-6)

Similarly, the author of Nice Wanton (1550) - another interlude dealing with the corruption of Youth though in a more defined socio-political context - overtly localizes his action in England, as can be illustrated

by Iniquity's praise of Dalilah:

By God's blood, she is the best whore in England!
(1.205)

The English setting of Impatient Poverty, besides the handling of characterization and the presence of the Vices, is to be inferred from Colhazard's declared intention to ingratiate himself with Englishmen (p.339). New Custom, however, clearly establishes its setting when Cruelty tells the audience the deeds he has practised 'here in England' (II.3.p.185). An impression of reality is achieved through the many allusions to London sermons, services in English, and events which occurred during Queen Mary's reign. The play's native scene is underlined by Perverse Doctrine's complaint :

For since these Genevan doctors came so fast into this land,
Since that time it was never merry with England.
(II.2.p.184)

John Rastell, in The Four Elements (1517), appeals to the nation on other grounds besides the moral and the religious. His interlude is really a scientific lecture delivered in Tudor England for the benefit of his fellow-citizens. Besides the plea addressed to English scholars and humanists, merchants and explorers, Studious Desire's geography lesson clearly locates the action in England :

Sir, this realm you know is called England,
Sometimes Britain I understand;
(p.28)

Even if, following the author's instructions, one leaves the 'sad matter' out, the play is still kept in the native scene owing to the presence of characters like the Taverner and the Vices. Ignorance reinforces the idea of the Englishness of the setting when he boasts of the many servants he has herewith in England' (p.41), and when he sings a song of Robin Hood, which finishes on a familiar note :

Of all the birds in merry England
So merrily pipes the merry bottle!
(p.50)

In spite of the Palmer's pilgrimage abroad, and the Pardoner's visit to hell, The Four PP (1520) remains firmly in the native scene owing to the handling of the characterization, and the several topical and topographical allusions. For instance, the Regent - one of Henry VIII's ships - and Newmarket Heath are mentioned (1.749 and 1.974). The 'Pothecary says he would not give his rhubarb to the best friend he has 'in England's ground' (1.590). But the most effective of all references is the Pardoner's: in hell he meets a devil who turns out to be an old acquaintance:

For oft in the play of Corpus Christi
He hath played the devil at Coventry.
(11.831-2)

Another interlude broadly localized in England is The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality (1567), which encompasses both the countryside and the city. The former is suggested by Tenacity, portrayed as a peasant who speaks rustic idiom; and, the latter, by the gallant Prodigality and the ruffians Tom Tosse and Dicke Dicer. Besides the characters, on the whole the idea of the Englishness of the setting is conveyed rather through the many allusions to the Queen than to English places. There are references to 'the Queenes high way', 'the Queenes peace', 'the Queenes warres', greetings of 'God save the Queene', and flattering statements such as 'the Prince is full of liberalitie' (1.658). These references culminate with the full statement of the Queen's name and titles, which situates the play in time and place :

Thou are indited here by the name of Prodigality, for that thou,
the fourth day of February, in the three and forty yeere of the
prosperous raigne of Elizabeth our dread Sovereigne, by the grace
of God, of England, France and Ireland Queen, defender of the
faith

(11.1260-4)

A Knack to Know a Knave (1592) has for its setting Saxon England.

Against a slight historical background, King Edgar and his adviser - the yeoman Honesty - join forces to purge the country of evil-doers. The action really takes place in contemporary England, and the problems presented are those current at the time. The interesting fact about the treatment of locality in this play is that there is an all-inclusive English setting - court, city, and countryside. The main action takes place in the court, though the countryside is ever present in the person of Honesty with his frequent assertions that he is 'a plain man of the country'. To a less degree, there is also an incursion into the London underworld, represented by the figure of the coney-catcher, proud of his position as 'post-knight' in Westminster.

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The fragmentary Old Christmas or Good Order (1515) is a good introduction to a series of interludes in which the major concern - the health of the kingdom - is placed within an allegorical framework. In this fragment, two references make clear that the kingdom disturbed by the Vices is England. The first is uttered by the banished Gluttony :

In fayth to the new founde lande let us go
For in england there is no remedy.

(11.76-7)

And the second, by Good Order, on announcing the Vices' punishment :

Than syrs loke ye be gone shortely,
Holde take eche of you a crosse in hys hande
In token you shall be banysshed englande.

(11.78-80)

Magnificence (1515?), Albion Knight (1537), King John (1538), and Respublica (1553) use as a principle of dramatic organization the identification between character and setting. This fusion of the figure of the prince with the Commonwealth is accomplished in varying degrees in these four interludes. Excepting the first, England is - at the same time - the setting of the action, and the principal character in that setting.

Whether Magnificence is a satire against Cordinal Wolsey and his powerful influence on Henry VIII has been questioned. What remains unquestionable is the identity between king and country. If, on the basis of more recent scholarship - as has been suggested in the previous chapter - it cannot be said that 'the hero is Magnyfycence, obviously both a portrait of Henry VIII and a symbol of England',⁴⁵ it can still be affirmed that the hero is a symbol of England. Though the fusion of setting and character is less apparent here than in the other interludes mentioned above, there is no doubt that the Vices attack the Commonwealth through the figure of the prince. If 'Fansy' and Folly are common human Vices, their compeers - 'Clokod Colusyon', Courtly Abusion, and Crafty Conveyance - are all destructive political externalizations. That their field of action is England is made explicit by their allusions to the country. This can be illustrated by one of the Vices' boasts :

By Clokod Colusyon, I say, and none other,
Comberaunce and trouble in Englande fyrst I began;
(11.714-5)

The prince's corruption, too, signalled by his interest in fashion, is echoed all over the country, and Courtly Abusion is proud of his achievement :

This newe fonne iet
From out of Fraunce
Fyrst I dyd set;
Made purveaunce
And suche ordenaunce
That all men it founde
Through out Englonde.

All this nacyon
I set on fyre;
In my facyon,
This theyr desyre,
This newe atyre;

(11.877-88)

Thus, the relationship between the English ruler and his realm is underlined, though it can be halted on those occasions when the prince is treated more

as a Mankind representative than as a royal figure.

The fragmentary nature of Albion Knight makes discussion difficult. As far as setting is concerned, it can only be said that the identification of Albion Knight with England is conveyed by his name, his status as the head of the Commonwealth, and the political Vices - Injury and Division - who assault him.

Widow England is not the main character in King John, if one takes the play as a unified whole. If, however, one accepts the idea that it is actually two plays at the same time, England can be considered the central character of the political morality, and the King, the main figure of the history play.⁴⁶ Whatever the case, her importance is assured by having the whole action revolving around her, and in her. In spite of its English setting, the geographical boundaries of the action are expanded because of the international repercussions of King John's defence of England against the Pope and his allies. As the Papacy is the King's main opponent there are abundant references to Rome. Its presence is made concrete from the beginning when, towards the end of Act I, the action switches to Rome, and the Pope actually appears on the stage. When the action returns to England, Rome is still made present in the figure of Cardinal Pandulphus. The fact that there is a drastic change of place for a decisive event to occur breaks new ground in the treatment of setting in the interludes. The relevance of Rome and the Pope's responsibility for King John's downfall are dramatically emphasized by the incursion of the foreign setting into the English one. Bale anticipates some Elizabethan playwrights in showing a sharp sense of differentiation of settings.

In Respublica there are no prince figures as in Magnificence, Albion Knight, and King John. Following in Bale's footsteps, its author portrays England as another poor widow who cannot be helped by any segment of English

society. In King John, the King is willing to help England but he is prevented from doing so by alien powers; in Respublica she falls prey to national Vices. Since England cannot help herself, she is saved by external powers: in King John, Imperial Majesty comes to her rescue, in Respublica, Nemesis. As will be seen in more detail in the next chapter, the externalization of the idea of the 'mother country',⁴⁷ in terms of a fragile woman allows both the authors of these interludes to make full use of her defencelessness. Since, as far as setting is concerned, it is also her defencelessness which is powerfully conveyed, the fusion between character and setting is ingeniously exploited.

That the main character of Gorboduc (1562) is the Commonwealth or England has already been suggested. Irving Ribner reinforces this view with his opinion that 'King Gorboduc corresponds both to King John and to the Widow Yngelond. He is an actual historical character, and at the same time, he is the symbol of England'.⁴⁸ He concludes with an observation which further strengthens his argument: after the man Gorboduc is dead, England still remains as the central character of the final act.⁴⁹ It is worth noticing, however, that the identification of character and setting here is not so complete as in the two previous interludes, King John and Respublica. Not only does the identification cease with the King's death, but it also ceases because, unlike Widow England and Respublica, he is a non-allegorical figure, with an individuality of his own.

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A group of interludes - all of them written after the middle of the century - present a new way of dealing with setting. Their English settings are intruded upon by a foreign atmosphere signalled by the actual presence of alien characters or by reference to them. This juxtaposition of atmospheres however brief - creates interesting⁹ dramatic situations: not only is there a

contrast between Englishness and foreignness, but also the sense of an English reality is enhanced by such a contrast. This can be seen in such interludes as Wealth and Health (1554), Enough is as Good as a Feast (1560), The Pedlar's Prophecy (1561), Like Will to Like (1568), and The Tide Tarrieth No Man (1576).

In Wealth and Health, and Like Will to Like the idea of the Low Countries is suggested by the arrival of Flemish characters. In the first, the character Hance is associated with war, disastrous for English finances. Hance's unpopularity is illustrated by the fact that even the Vices treat him aggressively :

Let the knave alone! for his name is War:
Such drunken Flemings your company will mar.
(p.287)

While Hance is on the stage the opposition between Englishness and foreignness is effectively conveyed, since he is marked off as a Fleming by his accent, and, in accordance with tradition, by his drunkenness.

In Like Will to Like, another Flemish character called Hance, and his companion Philip Fleming, bring their foreignness to sharpen the impression of actuality of the English scene. Like the other Hance, they are both drunkards, and this is indicated by Tom Tossplot even before they actually appear :

And as for Flemish servants, I have such a train
That will quass and carouse, and therein spend their grain.
(ll.410-11)

When they arrive, their behaviour, talk, the pots they carry in their hands, not to speak of their physical appearance - 'two such paunches in all England can scant be found', says Nichol Newfangle (l.544) - all betray their drunkenness. The idea of foreignness, however, is mainly fostered by Hance, since Philip's role is rather small, and he is made to speak standard English.

In Enough Is as Good As a Feast and The Tide Tarrieth No Man, the

foreign intrusion into the English setting is both generalized and verbal; consequently, though the Englishness of the setting is still emphasized by the references to foreigners, the effect of the dramatic contrast between nativeness and foreignness is minimized. Tenant, in Enough Is as Good as a Feast, inveighs against the coming of foreigners, for they are responsible for the shortage of houses for Englishmen :

And especially strangers - yea a shameful zorte -
Are placed now in England and that in every port -
That we, our wives and children, no houses can get
Wherein we may live, such price on them is zet.
(11.985-8)

The same complaint is found in The Tide Tarrieth No Man, in which the author does not miss the opportunity of chiding English landlords for their lack of patriotism :

For among us now such is our country zeal
That we love best with strangers to deal.
To sell a lease dear, whosoever that will,
At the French or Dutch Church let him set up his bill.
And he shall have chapmen, I warrant you, good store.
Look what an Englishman bids, they will give as much more.
(11.431-6)

and it is echoed in The Pedlar's Prophecy :

What say the most pestelent Leasemongers?
If all the houses in London I were able to let,
I would let them to Alians and Straungers,
Before in any of them an Englishman I would set:
(11.881-4)

In The Pedlar's Prophecy, the contrast between the English and the foreign settings receives a more extended and interesting treatment. Besides xenophobic diatribes against foreigners in general (11.339-46 and 11.877-80), the foreign setting is specified and further emphasized by the Pedlar's continuous references to Tyre in Ilion (11.830-1, 11.836-7, 11.1455-8 and 11.1518-26). As has already been discussed, the authors of such interludes as Fulgens and Lucres, Godly Queen Hester and The Cobbler's Prophecy deal with contemporary native issues by setting them conspicuously in an alien

land. The author of The Pedlar's Prophecy, to voice his criticism of the current state of affairs, only pretends to make use of the device of a foreign setting. This means that his Pedlar attributes all the problems he discusses not to 'this Realme' but to the 'Noble Citie of Tyre'. For example, talking about the 'Pedlar' while feigning to be somebody else, the main character says :

Not one word talketh he of this religion,
Neither of Queen, Councell, Lord, Knight, nor Squire:
All his talke is of a land called Ilion,
And of a Citie farre of, called Tyre.
(ll.1455-8)

Once more, the foreign setting is used to inform the audience of the troubles of its own country; this time, however, the device has been treated differently, for the dramatist is able to exploit the juxtaposition of the fictive and real localities by calling the audience's attention to the artificiality of the foreign setting. Thus, he manages to establish an apparent contrast which actually functions - in an amusing way - as a means of continuous reference to the native scene.

4.2 The Countryside

From the early Mankind, in which one finds the hero laboriously tilling the soil, through the Mother Bee incident in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, to the late A Knack to Know a Knave, the interludes offer many insights into rural England. The countryside is also suggested by the presence of secondary characters even when they inhabit localities overtly foreign, such as those of Horestes, Misogonus, and Clyomon and Clamydes. Generally, these incursions into the rural setting are brief, and the countryside only provides the place for a comic scene. The great exception among the above-quoted interludes is Misogonus, in which, as has already been observed, the English rural setting entirely permeates the Italian one.

Only those plays which have their main action in the countryside will be dealt with here. Such are The Pardoner and the Friar (1519) and Gammer Gurton's Needle (1553). As far as Ralph Roister Doister (1552) and Tom Tyler and His Wife (1560) are concerned, it is difficult to locate them with certainty in the countryside. Madeleine Doran believes that Ralph Roister Doister has an English village setting.⁵⁰ Most of the action of the play, however, develops in Christian Custance's household, which is not further localized, and the only English topographical reference to be found is to Paul's steeple (II.4.40). Margerie Mumblecrust's occasional rustic speech does not provide enough evidence to locate this interlude in the countryside. The characters of Tom Tyler and His Wife could belong there since they are all simple people with names such as Strife, Sturdie, Typple, and Tom Tayler, but except for the hero's inconsistent pronunciation of 'Ich' for 'I', there is nothing in the text which indicates a rural setting

One can situate The Pardoner and The Friar in the dramatically simplified and uncomplicated world of rural England, though its locality remains unnamed. As there is little plot in this interlude, the idea of place is only slightly developed. When he starts addressing his audience, the Friar vaguely states :

And as I came hither, one did me tell
That in this town right good folk did dwell
(p.201)

The setting becomes progressively more English as the satirized personalities of the Pardoner and the Friar are exposed through their preaching in the local church. The countryside comes to the foreground when the Friar finds it necessary to translate his Latin quotation into 'our English tongue' for his unsophisticated listeners, and when the simple figures of Master Parson and Neighbour Prat join the thin plot.

The interlude which is most definitely rooted in a rural setting is

Gammer Gurton's Needle. It is sown thick with allusions to cows, pigs, cocks, hens, and geese. Hodge digs and delves, there are crabs in the fire and plenty of ale-drinking. The Englishness of the village is suggested also by the fact that it is peopled by such figures as Gammer Gurton, Hodge, Tib, Doll, and Master Baily, who appear on the stage, and Tom Tankard, Tom-Tailor, Sim Glover, and Hob Filcher, who are mentioned. The impression of actuality is further enhanced by the fact that most of these characters express themselves in rustic speech. Both the atmosphere and the personages of this interlude make its setting altogether rural.

4.3. The City : London

The London setting is present - though without being exactly the place of the action - in the earliest interludes, even in those specially concerned with spiritual issues. This suggestion may now be expanded.

Such interludes as The World and the Child (1508), Hickscorner (1513), and Youth (1520) abound in allusions to London. In the first, there are references to Holborn, Westminster, Newgate, and Eastcheap. Manhood believes that 'Folly will me lead to London to learn revel' (1.701); and London is established as the place of Manhood's corruption when he decides to go 'to London to see Folly' (1.707), and as he narrates his painful experiences there :

I clung as a clod in clay,
In London many a day.
At the Passage I would play;
I thought to borrow and never pay.
Then was I sought and set in stocks,
In Newgate I lay under locks,
If I said aught I caught many knocks.
(11.785-91)

Hickscorner also brings London vividly to the audience's imagination through numerous references: there are seven to Newgate, four to Tyburn, and others to Holborn, St. Thomas a Watering, and Westminster.⁵¹ In Youth there are also frequent allusions to Newgate and Tyburn.⁵² Compared with these,

there are few references to London in the moral-religious world of such interludes as Impatient Poverty (1547); but even so, Newgate is mentioned twice (p.315 and p.335), and Tyburn once (p.329). As has already been mentioned, whenever the London setting is alluded to it is generally its bad image which is projected. This may be confirmed by the examples above: it is the London of the prisons, places of execution, brothels and taverns which is constantly introduced. These references are mainly uttered by the Vices: as 'Londoners', they are thoroughly acquainted with the city's underworld.

If the London setting intrudes upon those interludes with moral-religious concerns, it is to be expected that the city should also be brought into those in which the major area of concern is social evil. This is what occurs, for example in Enough is as Good as a Feast, Like Will to Like, and The Tide Tarrieth No Man. Once more, it is the London underworld which is emphasized. Enough is as Good as a Feast provides an extensive list of all the predictable places where the Vice Covetous could be found (ll.360-2 and ll.365-6). Both St. Thomas a Watering and Tyburn are present in Like Will to Like (l.382 and l.390), and there are scattered references to Tyburn in The Tide Tarrieth No Man (l.235, l.979, and l.981).

The only time that the incursion of the London setting does not convey an unflattering picture of the city is in The Longer Thou Livest (1559). Discipline evokes a favourable image of the city,⁵³ unknown to the interludes considered so far:

God preserve London, that noble city,
Where they have taken a godly order, for a truth;
God give them the minds the same to maintain,
For in the world is not a better order.
If it may be God's favour still to remain,
Many good men will be in that border.
(ll.1032-7)

In spite of the recurrent incursion of London's vicious aspect into the above-named interludes, the sinful side of London is never the scene of those stories which take place in the city. London is the setting of Johan Johan (1520), Jack Juggler (1555), The Disobedient Child (1560), The Three Ladies of London (1581), and The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (1588). It is only in Wilson's first play that the capital is viewed as a huge underworld.

The setting of Johan Johan can be inferred from allusions to 'temmes strete' (1.115), the 'churche of poules' (1.154), and the 'wyves that in London dwell' (1.566). Yet it is inside the protagonist's house that the action of this domestic drama takes place.

The urban setting expands in Jack Juggler, in a sense, the first city comedy, since London supplies the scenes and the personages. Jenkin Careaway walks, plays dice, and steals apples in the streets of London. Moreover, the characters are described in terms of their relationship with the city. For instance, Jenkin,

An unhappy wage, and as foolish a knave
As any is now within London wall.
(p.7)

In the same way, Jenkin refers to his fellow-servant :

And a maid we have at home, Allison Trip and-Go
Not all London can show such other two.
(p.11)

References to Bedlam contribute to the strengthening of the impression that the characters are acting out their troubles in a household situated in London.

In The Disobedient Child, the prologue first establishes the whole world as the province of vice :

Throughout the whole world, in every land
Vice doth increase, and virtue decays,
(p.269)

It then goes on to narrow down the setting of the interlude to London:

In the city of London there was a rich man
(p.269)

The action springs from, and returns to London, but it really takes place in St. Albans, where the disobedient son commits himself to an unhappy marriage. Nevertheless, the London setting is made present not only by means of allusions to it but also by association with the hero, a Londoner. The author does not exploit his urban setting effectively. First, because the hero's misfortunes happen elsewhere; second, because the main sins depicted in the play - the father's indulgence and the son's disobedience - are not what may be called 'urban sins'. It is true that references to 'costly array', 'gorgeous array', and 'gallants' may bring to mind the pride and vanity of the city gallants. Yet apart from this the plot has nothing to do with the vicious characters and their notorious haunts, usually presented when the London setting imposes itself upon other localities.

The London of Robert Wilson's The Three Ladies of London and The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London is broader in conception: it stands for the city and for the English Commonwealth as a whole. It is interesting to observe the completely different treatments given to the same setting by the author.

In the earlier interlude, Wilson is rather critical of his London setting. The city is the dwelling-place of Lady Lucre for whom 'men come from Italy, Barbary, Turkey, and from Jewry' (p.250). The common idea of Vices coming from abroad - to be examined in the next chapter - is fully developed. When Lady Lucre asks the Venetian Usury

But why camest thou into England, seeing that
Venice is a city,
Where Usury by Lucre may live in great glory?

the Vice answers :

I have often heard your grandmother tell,
That she had in England a daughter, which her
far did excel;
And that England was such a place for Lucre to bide,
As was not in Europe and the whole world beside.
(p.268)

London is thus portrayed as the international capital of sin, a meeting-place for all Vices who flock to England to prosper. A foreign atmosphere - particularly Italian - is introduced into the native scene through the presence of aliens. Besides the Vices, the Italian merchant Mercatore has come to live in the city. All the inhabitants of London are ruthlessly criticized: the foreigners for bringing their vices; the natives for being so receptive to them. For instance, Lady Lucre orders Mercatore to exchange valuable goods such as wheat and beef for coloured bones and glass beads:

For every day gentlewomen of England
do ask for such trifles from stall to stall.
(p.276)

It is significant that, in order to underline London's sinfulness, the action is moved to another locality - Turkey. For dramatic reasons, the author employs a foreign setting which would normally provoke powerful evil associations in an English audience. He chooses it for the location of the only virtuous deed in the play: the Jewish usurer would rather lose his money than see a Christian (Mercatore) forsake his own religion. By presenting a contrast between the virtuous pagan setting ⁵⁴ - though there is no attempt at creating a Turkish atmosphere - and the vicious Christian one, Wilson emphasizes the point that Christians have debased themselves so much that it is Jews who put Christianity into practice.

The idea of place is skilfully handled in this interlude. Besides sharpening the Englishness of his setting through the presence of aliens, the author, like Bale before him, employs the change of localities to underline an event which is relevant to the overall message of the play. The short but striking scenes in the pagan setting are isolated from, and,

through a dramatic inversion of values, contrasted with, the Christian native setting. Thus, the meaning of the play gains in scope, not only through the difference of ethos between the two settings but also because the main place of the action expands progressively from London to England to Christendom.

A few years later, in a change of attitude dictated by the historical moment - the threat of the Spanish invasion - Wilson views his London setting with different eyes. The capital in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London is still emblematic of the whole Commonwealth, but it is now a brave city that the playwright presents to the audience. The same Vices are carried over from the earlier interlude but are treated differently. Now they are no longer the compeers of the sinful Londoners: they are the declared enemies of England, conniving with the Spaniards in order to conquer the country. Consequently, London ceases to be the Vices' habitat. Dissimulation complains that he has been banished from the city (p.412), and Simony, in the same way, says :

And I have been a traveller abroad in other realmes, for here I am so cried out against by preachers (and yet some ministers, that be none, could be content to use me) that I was glad to be gone: now, in some other lands, and not very far off, I am secretly fostered —

(pp.412-13)

The dwelling-place of international Vices can no longer be the capital of the Commonwealth as Fraud explains to the others :

....here is no living for us in London; men are growen so full of conscience and religion that Fraud, Dissimulation and Simony are being deciphered, and being deciphered are also despised,
(p.456)

The place chosen by the Vices to operate in has been transferred - not surprisingly - to Spain. Fraud, making plans in case the Spaniards do not succeed in taking over England decides :

....if they fail and retire, we may go with them and live in Spain, where we and such good fellows are tolerated and used,
(p.456)

The Spanish atmosphere - introduced by the figures of the three knights and their respective pages - is unflatteringly contrasted with the native scene. This time foreigners are brought in to underline the national virtues. For London has become the battlefield where the valiant English knights defeat the proud Spaniards and

.... let their enemy know,
Honour in England, not in Spain, doth grow.
(p.451)

The good image of London, briefly projected by Wager in The Longer Thou Livest, expands and crystallizes into the noble city created by Wilson for the setting of his second interlude.

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As has been suggested, the settings of the interludes cannot be described as undergoing a steady chronological progression from cosmic to English. The staging conditions and the conventions of popular drama ensured, a priori, that all actions would happen in England. The texts of the plays reinforced this Englishness in varying degrees.

A series of interludes, though occurring in unnamed localities, present clues through characters and dialogues which allow one to locate them in the native scene. Others take place in an ostensibly English setting, and dramatists try to convey an idea of actuality by means of topical and topographical illusions. This idea of actuality is that of the nation as a whole, the countryside, or London. Though there are few interludes which really develop in the countryside or London, both are often brought into other settings either by reference or by association with characters. And, whereas the rural scene is presented as a place of innocence and simple joy, the urban one is viewed as a place of corruption. Being an obvious target for the playwrights' criticism, London is more frequently introduced than the countryside.

There are many interludes with non-native settings. Yet, owing to the handling of characterization, and anachronistic and topographical references, the settings may be variously anglicized. The process of anglicization may be incomplete, as in Calisto and Melibea, and complete, as in Misogonus: other anglicised settings oscillate between the two extremes. Yet rarely does the treatment of setting attain that tension between the foreign world of the play and the real one of the audience, characteristic of the Elizabethan drama. Only occasionally, too, is there an opposition between a foreign place and a native one, since most interludes keep their action in a single geographical entity. It is only the brief incursions of foreign elements - through allusions to aliens and the arrival of alien characters - into the English setting which allow a xenophobic comparison between foreign vice and national virtue. In such cases, foreignness is treated in terms of Englishness. Exceptionally, Bale and Wilson make the change from an English setting to a foreign one significant for the overall meaning of the play.

To conclude, it must be borne in mind that the basic Englishness of the settings of the interludes, established in performance and dependent on dramatic conventions, is emphasized not simply by anachronisms, topographical allusions, and associations with characters in the texts. Though more relevant because more easily identified, they must be added to other factors such as the underlying didacticism of the plays, the topicality of the themes, and the general employment of contemporary dress. The dramatic uses of language, as will be proposed in Chapter IV, also contribute to the process of anglicization.

All the above elements, combined in varying measure, make it possible to consider all interludes, even those with non-native settings, as, in a sense, taking place in England, no matter how emphatically their characters may claim that they 'speake not of this Realme'.

Notes to Chapter II

1. Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (first published in 1958; reprinted, New York and London, 1968), pp. 226-7.
2. Robert Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, edited by Robert Schwartz (Baltimore and London, 1978), p. 101. I.W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude (first published, 1958; reprinted, Leicester, 1967), p. 9, informs us that 'Bale's anti-Catholic trilogy of God's Promises, John the Baptist, and The Temptation of Our Lord was aggressively revived by the author at the market cross of Kilkenny on Mary's coronation-day; but the probable association of Bale with Cromwell's players in the 1530s makes it likely that he wrote his plays for indoor performances by that company rather than for acting out of doors'. The case of Mankind's staging is open to discussion: Peter Happé, in the introduction to Four Morality Plays (Harmondsworth, 1979) p. 18, takes it for granted that the play belongs to a tradition of outdoor presentation, linking it to the Pride of Life and The Castle of Perseverance, David Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 15, suggests that the performance took place in an inn-yard; he modified his view later and came to accept the possibility of an indoor performance in 'Popular and Courtly Traditions on the Early Tudor Stage' in Medieval Drama, edited by Malcolm Bradbury and David Palmer, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, 16 (London, 1973), pp. 91-107 (pp. 97-8), Richard Southern, The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare (London, 1973), p. 43, suggests that the performance was indoors. Weimann, p. 278, note 17, confesses his reluctance to follow Southern's suggestion on the basis that 'even if the unknown author had envisioned an indoor performance, the dramatic substance and meaning of the play (which Southern hardly considers) point to a different social context'. Craik, p. 20, sums up the argument when he declares that 'there are hints that an inn is the place of performance, though whether indoors or in a courtyard is not easy to decide'.
3. Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, p. 74.
4. Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, p. 80.
5. Southern, pp. 422-3.
6. The Tudor Interlude, pp. 18-19.
7. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round, second edition (London, 1975), p. 236.
8. Craik, p. 26.
9. The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare, p. 265.
10. Peter Brook, The Empty Space (London, 1968), p. 79.
11. V.A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford, 1971), p. 106 and p. 110.

12. Herbert Lindenberger, Historical Drama (Chicago and London, 1975), p. 105.
13. Weimann, p. 80.
14. G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, revised edition (Oxford, 1966), p. 435, says: 'in the literature of the medieval English pulpit, the tavern and the ale-house, apart from the acknowledged fact that they are the occasion of much gluttony and drunkenness in the ordinary way, stand for a very definite menace to the common weal. They have established themselves as deadly rivals to the ordinances of the Church, to the keeping of holydays and fast days, above all attendance at divine service'.
15. Glynne Wickam, in the introduction to Mankind in English Moral Interludes (London, 1976), p. 1, sees in the names of the villages in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk mentioned by the Vices, a further proof that the play originated in East Anglia.
16. See, for example, Arnold Williams, 'The English Moral Play before 1500', Annuaire Medievale, 4 (1963), 5-22 (p. 19).
17. R. J. Schoeck, 'Satire of Wolsey in Heywood's Play of Love', Notes and Queries, 196 (1951), 112-14, bases his argument on six lines of the play. This means that if there is satire, it is very minor, and hardly makes the play political.
18. David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 81.
19. Craik, p. 22.
20. The political implications of the play were discussed in Chapter I.
21. Spivack, pp. 218-22; see also Werner Habicht, 'The Wit-Interludes and the Form of Pre-shakespearean "Romantic Comedy"', Renaissance Drama, 8 (1965), 73-88.
22. Edgar T. Schell, 'Imitation of Life's Pilgrimage in The Castle of Perseverance', in Medieval English Drama. Essays Critical and Contextual, edited by Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson (Chicago and London, 1972), pp. 279-91 (p. 291), has observed that 'the allegorical journey is an oblique literary device, which the stage finds not only physically difficult but also unnecessarily indirect. Hence Wit and Science, the play in which the motif is clearest, merely suggests the journey of Wit to Mount Parnassus and concentrates instead on the direct encounters between Wit and the humanistic Vices and Virtues who hinder and aid him'.
23. Thomas M. Parrott, Shakespearean Comedy (New York, 1949), p. 17.
24. For example, Wisdom complains: 'For I, poor Wisdom, here am placed among these craggy cliffs' (l. 438).
25. Tudor Drama and Politics, p. 129.

26. Caconos's dialect, whether northern or Scottish, is open to discussion. Bevington, p. 129, takes it for granted that Caconos is a northern Englishman; Edgar J. Schell and J.D. Shuchter, the editors of the play (New York, 1969), p. 504, footnote that the priest is Scottish, though granting that 'Woodes' rendition of the Scottish dialect is not perfect'; Louis B. Wright had already suggested in 'Social Aspects of Some Belated Moralities', Anglia, 54 (1930), 107-48 (p. 114), note 1, that Caconos was portrayed as a Scotsman with the intention of satirizing Mary Stuart; Celesta Wine, 'Nathaniel Wood's Conflict of Conscience', PMLA, 50 (1935), 661-78, offers the best evaluation of the problem. According to her, Caconos speaks a dialect 'that is intended to be Northern, presumably Scottish' (p. 677); nevertheless, she also points out why it was possible that 'Wood's conception of the character of Caconos may have been suggested or at least strengthened by events in the history of the diocese of Norwich, for in 1571 Bishop Parkhurst had considerable trouble with a clergyman in his diocese who was a northern man and who gave ample evidence of great ignorance and learnings towards the papacy'; she also reinforces this view by showing the connections between Woodes and Norwich (p. 678). The problem of Caconos's nationality is difficult to solve because of the poor graphic representation of his speech. In this and subsequent chapters, Caconos will be treated as a northern Englishman on the grounds of Wine's arguments and the author's inclination towards topicality as exemplified by the subject matter of his play.
27. 'Romantic Narrative Plays: 1570-1590', in Elizabethan Theatre, edited by John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, 9 (London, 1966), pp. 107-29 (p. 129).
28. Russell, p. 112.
29. John Stevens, The Medieval Romance (London, 1973), p. 99.
30. Montagos's broken English and nationality will be discussed in Chapter IV.
31. The Play Called Corpus Christi, p. 106.
32. Kolve, p. 109.
33. Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England (Cambridge, 1959), p. 235.
34. Biblical Drama under the Tudors (The Hague and Paris, 1971), p. 153. It must be added that the three hounds are, in fact, four: Lovel, left out by the writer, is mentioned on p. 190; Lightfoot, Swan, and Takepart, on p. 192.
35. Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 37.
36. Robert C. Jones 'The Stage World and the "Real" World in Medwall's Fulgens and Lucres', Modern Language Quarterly, 32 (1971), 131-42 (p. 140).
37. The action of Damon and Pithias takes place in Syracuse, which, though located in Sicily, was a colony of Corinth: 'Hiero (478-467) made Syracuse, one of the most brilliant and successful of the Greek cities' (E.G. Sugden, Topographical Dictionary).

38. Michael Shapiro, Children of the Revels (New York, 1977), p. 47, maintains, by quoting this passage from the prologue, that 'English audiences, especially those at court or in private theaters, evidently enjoyed identifying...allegorical targets of derision, and one indication that such "application" was not only prevalent but intentional is the force and frequency with which prologues deny its presence'. The argument seems exaggerated, since Edwardes's fears of incurring punishment appear justifiable when one remembers the existing state censorship. Furthermore, if the dramatist were attempting to criticize parasitic courtiers he was also running the risk of having the Queen identified with the tyrant Dionysius.
39. Southern, The Staging of Ways before Shakespeare, p. 484, commenting on the novelty of the attempt to paint a scene with words in the interludes, also adds: 'in what follows there is a good deal to suggest an anticipation of the technique of the full Elizabethan play so far as general atmosphere is concerned'. Pl
40. 'The "Estates" Morality Play', Studies in Philology, 62 (1965), 121-36 (p. 128).
41. Robert Potter, The English Morality Play (London and Boston, 1975), p. 116.
42. See the introduction to Early Plays from the Italian (first published, 1911; reprinted, New York, n.d.), pp. xci-xcii, for an exhaustive list of all the topical allusions, and other proofs that the whole tone and atmosphere of the play are unmistakably English.
43. The Tudor Drama (Cambridge, Mass., 1911), p. 128.
44. 'Dutch Humanism and the Tudor Dramatic Tradition', Notes and Queries, 197 (1952), 357-60 (p. 359).
45. Irving Ribner, 'Morality Roots of the Tudor History Play', Tulane Studies in English, 4 (1954), 21-43 (p. 24).
46. Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, revised edition (London, 1965), p. 34.
47. See, for example, the allusions to England as a mother in King John. First, England threatens her son Commonalty: 'If thou leave thy king, take me never for thy mother' (II. p. 53). Secondly, King John pleads with her: 'O England, England! show now thyself a mother' (II. p. 57).
48. The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, p. 46.
49. The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, p. 46.
50. Endeavors of Art (first published, 1954; reprinted, Madison and London, 1972), p. 158.
51. For references to Newgate, see: p. 135, p. 140, p. 143, p. 149 (two references), p. 152 and p. 157; for references to Tyburn, see: p. 135, p. 153 (two references), p. 156 and p. 157; for a reference to Holborn see p. 148; for references to St. Thomas a Watering and Westminster, see p. 154.

52. For references to Newgate, see: l. 231, l. 233, l. 253, l. 473; for a reference to Tyburn, see l. 254.
53. R. Mark Benbow, the editor of the play (London, 1968), p. 45, footnotes: 'London's laws for apprenticeship and for handling vagabonds were influential in planning the statute of Artificers in 1563'.
54. J.L. Cardozo, The Contemporary Jew in the Elizabethan Drama (Amsterdam, 1925), pp. 67-84, provides a historical explanation for the setting of the 'Jew scenes' in Turkey. According to him, as the English playwrights of the time had no live models for Jewish characters in England, they never presented them there. He also observes that all the Jews presented on the English stage - from The Three Ladies of London (1581) to The Raging Turk (1618) - were Mediterraneans, and not once, in the nine plays in which Jewish characters appear, is the action set in England.

CHAPTER III

ENGLISHMEN AND ANGLICIZED FOREIGNERS

Chwas i-bore in Ingland
(Ignorancy in Wit and Science)

I trow here is no man of the kin or seed
Of either party: for why, they were bore
In the city of Rome as I said before!
('B' in Fulgens and Lucres)

It has been suggested in the previous chapters that, in the acknowledged didacticism of the interludes, the moral thesis and the components of the dramatic form are closely interrelated in their working towards the same purpose. That is to say that characterization - like theme, plot, setting, and, as will be seen next, speech - is woven into the composite didactic pattern of the entire play. Thus, the characters of the interludes are predominantly functional: they operate as parts of an ethical thematic structure which dominates their functions as plausible representations of real human beings. This is the main reason why these characters fail to be individuals even if, occasionally, some of them show signs of individuality. For, as has been said, 'to interpret the actions of human beings through the medium of a familiar learned terminology and to allocate them in a familiar ethical system of philosophy is a different thing from thinking about the system and its ideals first and then constructing the characters to fit the principles'.¹

Being constructed to fit the playwrights' ethical principles, interlude-characters mainly function to reveal the didactic purpose: either as interpreters of the message, or as conveyors of models of behaviour, or as purveyors of critical images of Englishmen. As the first two functions have already been dealt with in the first chapter, the present discussion will focus on the last. In examining this aspect of the modes of characterization,

the images of foreigners conveyed by the interludes will also be treated.

As has already been proposed, the interludes are mainly a drama for Englishmen and about England. In their concern with the Commonwealth, and limited by the one-sidedness that characterizes popular drama, their authors seem to consider that the human community extends only as far as the national boundaries. This usually leads to the anglicization not only of foreigners in stories taken out of the Bible, history, and legend, but also of allegorical characters.

Allegorical characters are mainly used when the thematic emphasis is on the teaching of moral-religious patterns of conduct. With the growing secularization of the drama, however, they yield to non-allegorical figures or types. Yet, as will be indicated later, the change from personification to impersonation does not follow a steady line of progression. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century there are authors like John Heywood who do not employ allegorical characters in every play; on the other hand, personification does not disappear from the interludes: it is used until the last quarter of the century by such playwrights as Robert Wilson.

It is one of the aims of this chapter to suggest that the moral personifications of the interludes must have been far less abstract on the stage than they seem to be when one simply reads the texts. Thus, what Glynne Wickham says about the way medieval spectators viewed Biblical and allegorical characters appears to be equally applicable to a Tudor audience. According to him, 'Herod, Abraham, Peace or Lechery were assumed to have come, as it were, from their homes, to be among the audience, as visible, as tangible, as real, in short, as human as any individual in that audience, speaking their language, conducting their social and political affairs along identical lines'.²

The idea that, in spite of their proclaimed universality, personified abstractions are anglicized in varying degrees will also be developed. This anglicization is mainly due to the necessity of locating the conflict between the agents of good and evil in a social context - obviously English - to make the broad homiletic lesson more particular and, consequently, more easily apprehended. Thus, playwrights anglicize allegorical characters like the Virtues and create the Vice, a typically English character influenced by the popular tradition in spite of his theological sources.

As their thematic preoccupations focussed more and more on socio-political problems, interludes also became a means of exploiting a wide range of conduct in contemporary English society. Characters, then, are presented as social personages, carrying out actions which aim at instructing the audience in socio-political as well as moral-religious behaviour. And, as most sections of society are represented by these types - or stereotypes - they convey a direct criticism of members of the Commonwealth, although some class representatives prove to be special targets. Less critically and more comically treated are certain English characters such as rustics and shrews.

Most interlude-writers use foreign stories either as a means of inculcating the new religion, or as a device to deal topically with delicate socio-political affairs. Hence the anglicization of foreign characters, who are endowed with native costume and manners, made to discuss contemporary matters of national interest, and often, like their English counterparts, offer critical portraits of members of the Commonwealth. It must be remarked, however, that the anglicization of foreign characters occurs in greater or less degree according to the playwright's intentions or necessities. There are cases when it is important for the author to exploit the foreign-

ness of his characters: either through the Vice's assuming a foreign personality as one of his multiple disguises, or when anti-Catholicism or xenophobia, crossbred with comic intention, demands the presence of an alien on the stage.

In dealing with the process of anglicization of characters, whether allegorical or foreign, one has to return to the subject of the dramatic function of anachronism in the interludes. As has already been suggested, in order to impart a didactic message more immediately to the audience, dramatists do not hesitate to employ anachronism, and exploit its dramatic potentialities. Thus, they translate the past into the present, the unknown into the known, and the foreign into the native. Though, as far as characterization is concerned, this device is mainly used in the anglicization of non-English characters, it can also be employed when the author wants to present figures of the historical past as members of contemporary society, as in A Knack to Know a Knave.

In general, playwrights make use of two kinds of anachronism: the first, achieved by the manipulation of words in the text; and the second, produced by the use of contemporary costume. Only the latter will be dealt with in the present discussion, since the former has already been treated in the previous chapter. Here it suffices to say that the non-illusory techniques of direct address, asides and soliloquies, as well as anachronistic references, were used not only to draw the audience into the play, but also to make its members exchange the 'there' and 'then' for the 'here' and the 'now'. In the usually intimate circumstances of theatrical presentation, the spectators, either exhorted by the virtuous characters or teased by the vicious and comic ones, were reminded of who they were, and where, and when they were living. The contemporaneity of the dramatic action was placed at the heart of their participatory experience. Consequently, unless otherwise

determined by the playwright's purposes and needs, characters were assumed to be English irrespective of their origins.

The anglicization of the non-English characters was further facilitated by the 'pervasive anachronism of costume'.³ In costume - and in setting as well - the distant and the exotic were interpreted in terms of the near and the familiar. Interlude-writers, in this respect, were simply carrying on the medieval tradition of making historical characters wear contemporary dress.⁴ This is not a characteristic feature of the drama only, being found in all visual arts,⁵ and explained partly as a lack of knowledge, partly as a failure of the imagination.⁶ To these reasons one may add the tendency on the part of actors - verified throughout the history of theatrical costume - to dress themselves 'according to their own conception of a certain epoch, and not according to the actual facts'.⁷

Yet, in the case of the drama being dealt with, both its non-illusory aspect and its didactic purpose can also be held responsible for the employment of the anachronism of costume. It contributed to making the members of the audience see the characters as they saw themselves underlining the immediacy of the ethical lesson. Thus, the models of conduct and critical portraits conveyed through the characterization would make a greater impact on the spectators' consciousness. This idea is supported by T. W. Craik's conclusion from his study of the use of costume in the interludes: 'in order to persuade the spectators that everything they see is happening in the immediate present, the actors are usually dressed like the spectators. This dress serves as a reminder that the plays deal with topical and particular aspects of general morality'.⁸ This use of contemporary dress is ingeniously exploited by Medwall in Fulgens and Lucres, when 'A' explains to 'B' why he took the latter for a player,

with an obvious satirical thrust :

There is so much nice array
Among these gallants nowaday
That a man shall not lightly
Know a player from another man!
(pt.I.53-6)

As will be discussed later, there were occasions when other types of theatrical costume would be necessary,⁹ but the general rule stated above remains.

It must, then, be emphasized that, owing to the conventions governing the interludes, the conditions of performance, and the dramatic functions of anachronism, the Englishness of the majority of the characters was taken for granted. Though there are degrees of Englishness - the Vice and low-life characters being on the top of the scale for reasons to be discussed below - this assumption of basic nativeness must be borne in mind when dealing with the process of characterization in the interludes. It was part of the dramatist's task to differentiate those personages which, for theatrical reasons, had to be recognizably non-English.

Finally, the common practice of putting different sorts of characters together in the same play will be examined. This is a typically English way of handling characterization, rooted in the popular theatre, and also found in the medieval and Elizabethan dramas. Yet it is in the interludes that the mixture of characters of different dramatic traditions is most consistently employed. This is, initially, a consequence of the playwrights' technique of mixing 'sentence' and 'solace': serious characters like the Virtues are set side by side with comic ones like the Vices. This juxtaposition, however, goes much further, for already in the very early interludes allegorical characters coexist with English types. As the period progresses, characters borrowed from other sources join the lists of dramatis personae. This

eclecticism culminates in plays like Cambises (1561) and Horestes (1567), in which historical and mythological figures interact with personified abstractions and native rustics. Let us now turn from these general concepts to the particular examples offered by the plays themselves.

1. Allegorical characters

Allegorical characters are not a particularly English phenomenon since allegory is an old and universal literary form. Personifications of abstractions seem to be as ancient as Western drama itself, for in Aeschylus's Prometheus Bound there are two characters named Might and Violence,¹⁰ and Aristophanes in his Plutus introduces another called Poverty.

In England, the beginning of the tradition of putting allegorical characters on the stage probably dates back to the Paternoster plays of the end of the fourteenth century - the earliest records of the performances of moralities in Europe.¹¹ In these plays, 'apparently the separate clauses of the Lord's Prayer were related to the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Christian Virtues, and dramatized in cyclical pageants, that displayed these two sets of moral personifications in allegorical competition for the human soul'.¹² Though from then onwards, personifications became an integral feature of the early interludes which are mainly allegorical, they can also be found making sporadic appearances in the great mystery cycles performed in the fifteenth century.¹³

In the interludes, personified abstractions are chosen according to their relevance to the playwright's theme. Their motivation and behaviour are - in general - predetermined by their names. In other words, their actions grow out of their names, and are not dependent on their relationships with other characters. In the moral-religious plays of the

half of the century, the allegorical characters dealt with may be broadly classified as Christian Virtues and Vices. Yet, as the century advances, and the frame of reference of the interludes grows increasingly socio-political, the allegorical dramatis personae expand to include figures such as Honour, Fame, Fortune, Oppression, Justice, Commons' Complaint, Authority, and Correction.

It is worth remembering that the treatment of allegorical characters was influenced by the realism of sermon portraiture. G. R. Owst observes that

writers of pulpit manuals and treatises, from the thirteenth century onwards, were accustomed to illustrate each separate 'branch' of Vice or Virtue, treated in turn, with precisely such vivid little sketches of contemporary men and women and their ways At length, with the increasing popularity of sermon satire and realism, the Abstraction itself became a living person, known and recognized by all men. 14

The above statement leads to the idea that regarding allegorical characters as 'abstractions' or 'shadows' is, of course, erroneous in theatrical terms. This error is mainly due to the fact that interludes nowadays hardly ever put on the stage, and are therefore discussed merely from a reading acquaintance. As has been remarked, spectators would not be so misled as the reader who is constantly coming across the allegorical speech prefixed on the printed page :

when one reads such plays, the row of speakers' names down the left margin on the page inexorably insists on the allegory through repetition of such names as Humanum Genus, World, Pride, or Good Angel. In production, however, no such effect occurs They are infrequently identified by name during the course of the play after their first appearance, except in ways which are natural to human conversation. 15

This view is also reinforced by the fact that the audience who watched this drama 'had the added advantage of seeing the characters dressed in appropriate costumes and interpreted by the living voice.' 16

It is the purpose of this section to suggest that the texts themselves already reveal that most allegorical characters are humanized, and - in varying degrees - turn out to be differentiated representatives of contemporary English society. Playwrights make their personified abstractions either masculine or feminine, and often, give them a recognizable social role according to the demands of the plot, and their own dramatic necessities. Some characters, like the Virtues, for example, are limited to a few stereotypes because they cannot escape from the strait-jacket of didacticism. The Vices, on the other hand, are given free rein to assume several social personalities, being circumscribed only by the obvious viciousness of their nature and their function as merry-makers. It must be remarked, however, that whenever it serves the dramatist's purposes he maintains his abstractions in the realm of pure allegory.

1.1 The Virtues

The Virtues occupy a prominent position in the early moral-religious interludes which centre on a Mankind figure hesitating between good and evil. Their prominence is often made clear by such titles as The Castle of Perseverance, Old Christmas or Good Order, Temperance and Humility, The Four Cardinal Virtues, and Somebody, Avarice and Minister or The Spoiling of Lady Verity. They may appear under their generic name Virtue as in The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality and All for Money, but, generally, they are given more specific appellations like Peace, Hope, Mercy, Charity, or Humility. In the second half of the century, the process of secularization diminishes their dramatic importance, yet, they hold the stage till the end of the interlude tradition.

The Virtues, on the whole, remain rather generalized characters in sharp contrast with the particularized and English theatrical personalities

of the Vices. Unlike the latter's, the former's Englishness is not obvious if considered outside the context of the other elements of drama such as theme, plot, setting, and speech. For instance, Justice is not specifically English: it becomes so when portrayed as a royal adviser in Albion Knight; the same may be said of a character like Honesty, anglicized because he moves in the Anglo-Saxon locale of A Knack to Know a Knave. Also, the Virtues' use of direct address and the vividness of their presence in performance would underline the sense of familiarity conveyed by the social roles they portrayed on the stage.

The Virtues may be represented either as men or women ¹⁷ - though the former predominate - and the same Virtue may change sex from one play to another. For example, Mercy is one of the Four Daughters of God both in The Castle of Perseverance and Respublica, and a priest in Mankind; Verity is a lady in the fragmentary Somebody, Avarice and Minister or The Spoiling of Lady Verity, and a minister of the new religion in King John.¹⁸

All the Virtues presented as women cannot be said to have their femininity exploited by the dramatists. Figures like the Four Daughters of God and the Seven Moral Virtues of The Castle of Perseverance, or Virtue in All for Money are mere interpreters of the moral lesson. On the other hand, some Virtues project identifiable feminine images: Trust is a modest lady who marries Just in The Trial of Treasure; Experience, the mother of Science, is an honourable matron in The Marriage of Wit and Science; and Wisdom, a young girl in love in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom. A few Virtues can be painted with strongly 'womanish' touches: in Wit and Science, Honest Recreation in her eagerness to protect Wit, engages in a lively quarrel with Idleness, and uses abusive language (ll.340-425) - far from the usually elevated tone associated with the Virtues - which reminds one of the 'shrews' sharp tongue; Love and Conscience are so

realistically portrayed that they present the unusual spectacle of Virtues being morally decadent in The Three Ladies of London, but repenting, and getting married in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London.

As far as the male Virtues are concerned, it has already been indicated in the first chapter that the early moral-religious interludes identify the Virtues with the Catholic Church, by making them members of the clergy. Such are Mercy in Mankind, Conscience in The World and the Child, Perseverance in Hickscorner, and Charity in Youth. Another image that these characters and most of the male Virtues convey is that of the good counsellor, such as Studious Desire in The Four Elements and Instruction in Wit and Science; in Lusty Juventus, the young protagonist's spiritual guide is Good Counsel himself. Thus, the Virtues are presented as priests, teachers, tutors, or any wise person in charge of the instruction and guidance of the hero. They can also be more specifically presented as counsellors to the 'King of England figure', such as Justice in Albion Knight and Measure in Magnificence.

Since the weight of moral instruction in interludes in which the Virtues appear is set on their function as advisers, their characterization can be neither theatrically appealing nor much diversified. This has led to the remark that 'the Virtues never ceased preaching so long as the stage tolerated their presence, and their didactic quality is always the same - somber, elevated, interminable and dull'.¹⁹ Of those Virtues who remain on the stage after 1550, some carry on their functions of good counsellors and preachers, but many become more socially varied. As examples of the former, one may cite Law of God, Knowledge of Sin, Faith, Repentance, and Love in The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene (1558), Discipline and Piety in The Longer Thou Livest (1559), and Good Nurture in The

Marriage between Wit and Wisdom (1579). Examples of male Virtues embodying different social types are Fidence, Sobriety and Reason portrayed as courtiers in Patient Grissell (1559); yet, in keeping with their old function of counsellors, they advise the Marquis to marry for the sake of the State. Some male Virtues are also depicted as 'sages'. This is easily attested by the descriptive labels attached to their names in the list of dramatis personae of some interludes. For instance, in Tom Tyler and His Wife (1560), Patience is described as a 'sage person' and Edification in New Custom (1571), and Honest Industry, Pure Zeal, and Sincerity in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (1588) are also described as 'sages'. In this same play some Virtues are presented as common men: Diligence is a 'post or an officer', and Simplicity, a poor 'freeman' of London.

The images purveyed by the Virtues as a whole - matrons, girls, priests, tutors, royal counsellors, sages and simple men - are, of course, always flattering. As has been indicated in the previous chapter, interlude-writers rarely keep their settings cosmic or foreign; this means that in the predominantly native context in which they operate the Virtues appear as idealized portraits of certain members of English society. This overall traditional picture is effectively made use of by Wilson to underline his angry moral message when, exceptionally, he presents two Virtues - Love and Conscience of London - as corruptible in The Three Ladies of London.

1.2 The Vices

In the moral-religious interludes the conflict between good and evil is polarized in the figures of the Virtues and the Vices. Yet, whereas the former become gradually less important as the drama becomes more

secular, the latter outgrow their theological origins, and develop into a typically English theatrical character known as the Vice.²⁰ The Vice's double dramatic nature is the main key to his Englishness: as a non-representational character he is deeply rooted in the native popular tradition;²¹ as a representational one, he incorporates some of his self-expressive idiosyncrasies into the fictitious personages of the interludes. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to separate these two aspects of the Vice's theatrical personality for, as some characteristics of folk-play figures were assimilated by the homiletic personified abstraction, the Vice became an ambivalent personage. Thus, 'on the one hand he provides a clowning reenactment of semiritual sport and showmanship, but on the other he carries within himself an element of homiletic condemnation'.²² The Vice's twofold nature makes him capable of entering the illusory locus and returning to the non-illusory platea with greater ease than any other allegorical character, and of establishing a close and permanent relationship with the audience. It may, then, be asserted that the Vice is an English character par excellence, who does not depend on the other elements of the dramatic form to be defined as such; on the contrary, as has been suggested, he imparts his Englishness to the non-native stories and settings of some interludes.

The Vices' Englishness can be reinforced by the variety of the social roles they assume, since their representational function is far less limiting than the Virtues'. This is not only due to the fact that the former are in charge of the comedy of the play, but also to the playwrights' dramatic necessity of placing the agents of evil in a social environment. In accordance with the Vices' theological nature, however, the various social types portrayed by them usually belong to the wicked side of contemporary English society; those who do not are types chosen

as targets by the dramatists' satirical views. The diversity of social images projected by the Vices is worth examining in a little more detail.

Like the Virtues, the Vices are depicted as either men or women, and some Vices also change sex from one play to another. Idleness, for instance, is portrayed as a woman in Wit and Science and The Marriage of Wit and Science, and as a man in John the Evangelist, The Longer Thou Livest, and The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom.²³ The facility with which the Vices can change sex may be illustrated by the following dialogue in Bale's Three Laws :

Infidelity. What? sometime thou wert an he!
Idolatri. Yea, but now ich am a she,
And a good midwife, perde!
Infidelity. Then art thou like to Clisthenes,
To Clodius and Euclides
Sardanapalus and Hercules,
Which themselves oft transformed
Into a woman's likeness,
With agility and quickness;

(p.17)

All female Vices, even those of the humanistic 'Wit' plays in which there is no well-defined social setting, show some reason why their sex was chosen. In Wit and Science, while both Honest Recreation and Idleness fight for the hero, the Virtue describes her rival as 'a common strumpet' (1.348). In The Marriage of Wit and Science, there is no clash between the two female figures, but in both plays Idleness has Wit asleep in her lap. In The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom there are two Vices depicted as women. One is Fancy, and her sex may have been determined by the traditional view of women's fickleness and superficiality :

Because that, waving here and there, I never steadfast
stand,
Whereby the depth of learning's lore I cannot understand.
(11.540-1)

And the fact that Dame Fancy is using her feminine charm to attract the

hero may be inferred from his courteous manner towards her :

Fair Dame! I thank you heartily
What, may one be so bold to ask your name without
offence?

(11.556-7)

Yet, Fancy's most sinful act is to imprison Wit in order to prevent him from meeting Dame Wisdom. The other feminine Vice of the play - Wantonness - is far more fully realized as the prototype of female viciousness. Though she contributes to the young scholar's disgrace in the same way that Idleness does in the two other 'Wit' plays (Wantonness blackens his face, and sets a fool's bauble on his head), Wantonness is actually a prostitute on friendly terms with the male Vice Idleness. In spite of the non-specified context of the play, she recalls other prostitutes in interludes with acknowledged native settings. To portray her type more convincingly, the playwright makes her appear pregnant (11.127-9). This fact is brought up again when Wantonness and her compeer Idleness are planning to allure Wit:

Idleness. Nay, but in any wise hide your belly.

Wantonness. It is a child of your getting.

Idleness. It hath fathers at large;

But here comes in Wit that is like to bear all the charge.

(11.173-6)

The portrayal of feminine Vices as sexually loose women goes back to The Castle of Perseverance in which Lechery - Flesh's daughter and Covetous's sister - promises Mankind her pleasures :

Ya! When thy flesh is fair fed,
Then shall I, lovely Lechery,
Be bobbed with thee in thy bed;

(11.1183-5)

Her counterpart in Youth is delineated in more social terms, for in this interlude evil is shown operating in an overtly English underworld which includes brothels, taverns, and prisons. Thus, Lechery appears to be as real as Riot's description :

She is afresh and fair of hue,
And very proper of body.

(11.382-3)

Another Vice portrayed as a prostitute is Abominable Living in Lusty Juventus, in which the courtship scene is extensively treated (11.786-883). All these examples indicate, once more, the realistic touches often given to the portraiture of the personified abstractions, dismissed as 'shadows' by many critics.

Apparently there is no reason why Wantonness, Lechery, and Abominable Living cannot be called Kate, Nell, or Bess. These names appear in the earliest moral-religious interludes which are predominantly allegorical. For example, in Nature (1495), when describing his corruption of Mankind, Sensuality recalls :

By my faith! we eat together
At the tavern, next hereby;
And, anon, who should come together
But flee/ing Kate and Margery,
(p.78)

In Hickscorner (1513), Freewill remembers Jane, Kate, Bess, and Sybil, wishing 'hell were full of such prumps' (p.150); and, in The Four Elements (1517), Sensual Appetite promises to introduce Humanity to 'little Nell', 'Jane with the black lace' and 'bouncing Bess' (p.26). In the later The Longer Thou Livest (1559) Idleness promises Moros : 'Acquainted with Nell and Nan we will thee make'. (l.860).²⁴

It is worth calling attention to the fact that these feminine types with English names are only mentioned, and do not actually appear in the interludes. This seems to suggest that the authors, when not under the immediate pressure of dealing with allegorical characters, would introduce non-allegorical counterparts whenever they needed them rather than striving for an accurate abstraction. What is relevant here is that the personified female Vices are made to behave in the same way as the evil social types

described. It is significant that in Lusty Juventus Hypocrisy refers to Abominable Living using a frequent name for a whore:

But yet Fellowship tell me one thing,
Did you see little Bess this morning?
(11.752-3)

Since the names Abominable Living and Bess are interchangeable, one may very well deduce that the allegorical character and the social type are one.

There are other feminine Vices who stand for recognizable human beings. In the strongly Protestant interludes like Three Laws and New Custom they are Idolatry and Hypocrisy respectively. Bale, the author of the first play, establishes in the stage direction: 'Let Idolatry be decked like an old witch'; and, the author of New Custom labels Hypocrisy in the list of dramatis personae as 'an old woman'. By personifying these Vices as old both playwrights want to point out the long career of Idolatry and Hypocrisy in England. The former is also a witch who dabbles in religious charms; the latter is the wicked sister of two Popish priests - Perverse Doctrine and Ignorance. Both authors exchange the usual subtle superficial attractiveness of the Vices for the more direct and striking portrayal of them as repellent feminine figures.

The female Vices are few and, consequently, their social roles are not diversified. They also differ from the male Vices in their degree of Englishness: the female Vices share few of the non representational traits of the male Vices and are, therefore, on less intimate terms with the audience. Yet, their Englishness is still assured for, as has been seen, most of them move within the same social environment inhabited by the male Vices to whom they are related either by blood or common interest.

The male representatives of evil fulfil their homiletic functions of

of adversaries of good, corruptors of mankind, and destroyers of ethical values under various guises. Thus, playwrights are allowed to show the Vice portraying a wide range of social figures. This has led to the assertion that,

in a social context his roles blend flexibly and naturally with such real-life hypocrites and pretenders as the flattering courtier, social upstart, sanctimonious corrupt cleric, or coneycatcher, all of whom may mask their true natures in order to further their ends. Although still presented as types rather than individuals, these figures would be instantly recognized by their audiences.²⁵

As the foregoing statement suggests, deceit is a characteristic of the Vice par excellence. He may - for brief or long periods - assume other personalities to entangle his victims. The disguises of this equivocator are not the concern of this section; the feigned roles as foreigners will be discussed later. The cases referred to here will be restricted to those in which the Vice adheres to his social portrait throughout the play.

At this stage attention should be drawn to the problem of the names of male Vices. Some of them - like Liberty in Magnificence and Courage in The Tide Tarrieth No Man - are not initially identified with Vices. It is only the context of the play which permits the spectator to associate these appellations with the agents of evil. As Liberty says,

For I am a vertue yf I be well used,
And I am a vyce where I am abused.
(11.2101-2)

Some Vices do not even have allegorical names. Though obviously performing their functions of intriguers and providers of mirth, they are called Nought, New Guise and Now-a-days in Mankind; Hickscorner and Jack Juggler in the interludes that bear their names; Haphazard in Appius and Virginia; Ambidexter in Cambises; and Nichol Newfangle in Like Will to Like. All

these names suggest types rather than abstractions. From the wide range of social portraiture offered by the male Vices a number of the most representative examples may be isolated.

As has been indicated in the previous chapter, some Vices are presented as inhabitants of the English underworld in the earliest moral-religious interludes. In Mankind (1465-1470), New Guise is a horse thief (11.622-3), Now-a-days is a church-robber (11.634-5), and Mischief, after boasting of his murders (1.640), joins the others in their efforts to corrupt the hero clanking his fetters (11.641-2). In The World and the Child (1508), Folly is depicted as a frequenter of the taverns and brothels of London :

By my faith sir, into London I ran,
To the taverns to drink the wine,....
....over London Bridge I ran
And the straight way to the stews I came,
And took lodging for a night,
(11.582-3, 590-2)

Hickscorner (1513) presents the title-hero as a 'London tough', recently returned from travel (pp.137-42). Another ex-lodger of Newgate is Riot in Youth (1520):

I came lately from Newgate....
The Mayor of London sent for me
Forth of Newgate for to come,
For to preach at Tyburn.
(1.233,252-4)

He is a cutpurse who, like his counterpart Shrewd Wit in the later Wealth and Health (1554), narrates his feats with great relish (11.261-7). Other violent types embodied by the male Vices are the ruffians who appear in interludes of the second half of the century. They are Cruelty and Avarice, who operate in the native moral-religious context of New Custom (1571), and Fraud, one of the many Vices of The Three Ladies of London (1581). The fact that they are ruffians is made clear in the descriptive labels attached to their names in the dramatis personae.

Whereas the Catholic interludes make the Virtues members of the Church, the Protestant ones present the Vices as Catholic churchmen. This is particularly deliberate in Bale's Three Laws and King John. In the former, the stage directions establish that five of the six Vices of the play should be dressed as members of the Roman Clergy, the author taking great care to represent as many different churchmen as possible : 'Sodomy like a monk of all sects, Ambition like a bishop, Covetousness like a pharisee or spiritual lawyer, False Doctrine like a Popish Doctor, and Hypocrisy like a grey friar'. In the latter, politico-religious personifications are interchangeable with Catholic historical characters; as has been noticed, 'in the stage directions, moreover, the characters are sometimes called by their historical names, sometimes by their real names, as embodiments of evil'.²⁶

The staunchly Protestant The Longer Thou Livest, Enough Is as Good as a Feast, and New Custom, all present Ignorance as a Catholic priest. In the first the Vice is not portrayed as 'stupid: his aim is merely to prevent the hero from being enlightened by Protestantism. In Enough Is as Good as a Feast, however, Precipitation makes fun of the Vice-priest's lack of learning :

....the sermons that ghostly Ignorance hath made
Hath almost brought all the parishes in England
out of trade.

(11.509-10)

And the author of New Custom underlines Ignorance's mental dullness by giving him a rustic accent. On the other hand, the Catholic Respublica mocks the ignorance of Protestant bishops in the figure of Oppression (alias Reformation). His compeer Avarice calls him 'Sir John Lack-Latin' (1.987), and informs the audience :

A verse of Latin he cannot understand,
Yet dareth he presume boldly to take in hand,
Into a Deanery or archdeaconry to chop
And to have the livelihood away from a bishop.

(11.946-9)

The association of the Vices with sartorial extravagance is a recurrent feature of the interludes. It is worth noticing that, often, this love of fashionable clothes is an attribute of Pride who is portrayed rather as a dandy than as the embodiment of presumption. Such is his role in Nature and Youth, in which he tries to develop in the young protagonists a taste for foppish and extravagant dress. Since love of fashion is a characteristic of Pride, the author of Godly Queen Hester makes a good theatrical point when he has this Vice enter poorly dressed, and explain why :

Sirs, my name is Pride, but I have laid aside
All my goodly array:
Ye ween I lie - there is a cause why
That I go not gay:
I tell you at word; Aman, that new lord,
Hath bought up all good cloth,
And hath as many gowns as would serve ten towns.
(p.262)

The Vice's satirical portrait of the native gallant is also found in Magnificence. Courtly Abusion is presented as a social upstart fashionably dressed, who succeeds in kindling an enthusiasm for new fashions in both the King of England and his realm. And, in Like Will to Like, Nichol Newfangle is a gallant trained in hell's tailor-shop by Lucifer himself, who entrusts him with a mission :

For thou knowest that through pride from heaven
I was cast
Even unto hell, wherefore see thou make haste
Such pride through new fashions in men's hearts
to sow,
That those that use it may have the like overthrow.
(11.103-6)

The Vice obeys Lucifer's orders by introducing Englishmen to new-fangled fashions (11.253-7). The close relationship between Vices and gallants is indicated by the fact that the former are described as the latter in the list of characters. Already in the Digby mystery play of Mary Magdalene, Curiosity is called a 'galawnt'; in Respublica, Insolence is listed as

'the chief gallant', Oppression 'another gallant', and Adulation, 'the third gallant'; and in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London, the author labels Fraud, Usury, Dissimulation, and Simony as 'four gallants'.

In keeping with the Vice's comic rather than evil nature is his portrayal as a fool.²⁷ In two of the three 'Wit' plays - Wit and Science and The Marriage of Wit and Science - Ignorance is depicted as a stupid boy who, in the first interlude, cannot even learn to pronounce his name (ll.454-549). But the Vice is also presented as a professional court-fool. The earliest to be found is possibly Mirth in The Pride of Life (late fourteenth century). Though D. C. Boughner defends the idea that Nuncius is only his formal role and asserts that, basically, he is a fool, other scholars are more cautious.²⁸ Considering the fragmentary nature of the text, and the absence of information concerning the character's costume, one is led to side with the latter. Nevertheless, there remains the possibility of a very early start to the career of the Vice as a court-fool.

There is no doubt that 'Fancy' and Folly are court-fools in Magnificence. The text offers evidence that Fancy, at least, wears the appropriate motley, when Folly is made to look surprised at it: 'What, frantye Fancy! in a foles case?' (l.1047). Another Vice who has found a place in a royal court is Merry Report in The Play of the Weather. The court is a rather special one, however, for though it is on earth it is presided over by Jupiter. David Bevington convincingly argues that, although Merry Report is called 'the Vice', 'he is closer to an allowed fool, the forerunner of the fool in King Lear'. He is the jester of the King's retinue who may scoff at everything because his impudence is unpremeditated'.²⁹

Finally, it may be said that, in the same way that most Virtues are portrayed as good counsellors, most Vices are painted as their opposites. One of them is even named Evil Counsel, being one of the two Vices of

John the Evangelist. Moreover, they emphasize their roles as bad advisers by turning out to be the boon companions who introduce the hero to all sorts of sins. For instance, Folly in The World and the Child asks to be taken as Manhood's servant only for meat and drink (ll.636-7), and immediately starts exercising the influence of his bad company :

Have, master, and drink well,
And let us make revel, revel,
For I swear by the Church of Saint Michael
I would we were at stews,
For there is nothing but revel rout.
(ll.651-5)

In the same way, Cruelty, Impiety, and Ignorance attach themselves to Moros in The Longer Thou Livest, and develop in him a taste for drinking, gambling, wenching and dressing extravagantly. Other examples are easy to find. As in the case of good counsellors, bad ones belong to society at large. What is important here is that abstractions are portrayed as concrete social types whose English milieu can be suggested; and, as far as the male Vices are concerned, reinforced by theme, plot, setting and costume. To sharpen the focus of the Vice's function in the English social environment, the question of his nationality as a representational character must be discussed.

It is necessary first to see the Vice as a traveller. This is partly in conformity with his original theological nature, which makes of the Vice 'a citizen of the world',³⁰ and also with his popular inheritance.³¹ Sometimes, the travels mentioned are pure fustian, and part of the Vice's frequent nonsense talk. In Patient Grissell, for example, Politic Persuasion opens the play with a long account of his travels in heaven and hell, which eventually finish in London (ll.1-51). The Vice Revenge (or Courage) in Horestes addresses a 'mistress Nan' in the audience, and offers to go with her to places which range from heaven, hell, and purgatory to Venice, Portugal and the Canary Islands (ll.1050-4). A final example can be

provided by Idleness in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, who says :

'I am a great traveller: I 'light on the dunghill like a puttock!' (1.404), and narrates his travels in incoherent speech (11.486-9).

Yet, most of the Vice's travels are meant to be real, and some take place in foreign countries. Hickscorner, in the interlude of the same name, boasts to his companions Freewill and Imagination of the places he has visited (p.137). Merry Report, in The Play of the Weather, travels on business all over the world. Sedition, in Bale's King John, is another Vice who travels on business as the Pope's ambassador :

I hold up the Pope, as in other places many;
For his ambassador I am continually -
In Sycell, in Naples, in Venice and Italy;
In Pole, Spruse, and Berne, in Denmark and Lombardy;
In Aragon, in Spain, in France, and in Germany;
In England, in Scotland, and in other regions else -
For his holy cause I maintain traitors and rebels,
That no prince can have his people's obedience
Except it doth stand with the Pope's pre-eminence.
(p.9)

Nichol Newfangle, too, in Like Will to Like, tells the audience that, as soon as he finished his apprenticeship with Lucifer he went 'by and by the world about' (1.70); and Sin in All for Money, when re-appearing in the fourth scene of the interlude, explains his absence by saying : 'I have been since I was here in many a nation' (1.832).

Other Vices, however, limit their travels to England. Such are Folly in The World and the Child, who has travelled 'all England to and fro' (1.602), and Evil Counsel in John the Evangelist, who has also travelled the country extensively (p.361). Nichol Newfangle is a special case: not only has he travelled abroad, but it is obvious to Judge Severity that he knows England very well :

Now friend, it appeareth unto me
That you have been a traveller of the country,
And such as travel do hear of things done,
As well in the country as the City of London,
How say you, my friend, can you tell any news?
(11.1077-81)

Whether they have travelled abroad or simply in England, what deserves to be noticed is that most Vices are settled in this country. This fact has prompted the remark that 'si le gagne-pain du Vice est ainsi de tous les temps et de tous les pays, il arrive souvent dès que la Moralité ne reste pas sur le terrain de l'abstraction pure, qu'il exerce ses activités en Angleterre et en particulier à Londres'.³² Yet if on the one hand the Vice is a citizen 'de tous les pays', who chooses to operate in England, on the other hand he is presented either as the embodiment of different English types - as has been suggested - or as a foreigner bent on corrupting Englishmen.

More than once the Vice openly acknowledges his native origin. Folly, in The World and the Child, when asked by Manhood, 'where was thou bore?' (1.565), does not hesitate to answer :

By my faith, in England have I dwelled yore;
And all mine ancestors me before;
But sir, in London is my chief dwelling.
(11.566-8)

Ingnorancy in Wit and Science says (in one of the epigraphs to this chapter) that he is English-born (1.475); and his counterpart in The Four Elements seems to imply either that he is English or that he has inhabited the country - and will continue to do so - for a long time :

I have servants at my retinue,
That long to me, I assure you,
Herewith in England
That with me, Ignorance, dwell still,
And term of life continue will
(p.41)

Often, however, the Vice is depicted as coming from abroad. As will be shown below, there is the tendency on the part of interlude-writers to associate evil with foreignness. In the present discussion only the instances in which the Vice's foreign nationality is emphasized will be dealt with. For example, in King John, Sedition vehemently denies that he

is England's son :

I am not her child; I defy her, by the mass!
I her son? quoth he! I had rather she were headless.
Though I sometime be in England for my pastance,
Yet was I neither born here, in Spain, nor in France;
But under the Pope; in the holy city of Rome;
And there will I dwell unto the day of doom.
(I.p:8)

In Impatient Poverty, Misrule describes Colhazard as a man who 'came late from beyond the sea' (p.336), and made a fortune playing dice. Colhazard underlines his foreignness by stating,

.... I trust, within short space,
To be in credence with English men.
(p.339)

The four Vices of both The Three Ladies of London and The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London are all foreigners. In the latter play when England is threatened by Spain, Simony answers Usury's plea that they should not betray their native country :

'Tis not our native country, thou knowest. I, Simony, am a Roman: Dissimulation, a mongrel - half an Italian, half a Dutchman: Fraud so, too - half French and half Scottish; and thy parents were both Jews, though thou wert born in London.

(pp.456-7)

In three of the four interludes mentioned above, there are obvious dramatic reasons to stress the foreign nationality of the Vice. Bale's play, being both anti-Catholic and nationalistic, draws attention to the intervention of the Papacy in English affairs by having Sedition portrayed as a Roman. Wilson's first London play employs the different nationalities of the Vices to paint the city as the international capital of sin; and, its sequel shows the author's anti-Spanish feelings by making the Vices befriend the Spaniards.

One may conclude, therefore, that owing to the flexibility of the Vice's representational nature, dramatists, depending on their intentions, could make him either a cosmopolite, or a native, or a foreigner. Sometimes they could even combine Englishness and foreignness in one Vice. This is

achieved when he is represented as a native, who is nevertheless influenced by alien evils such as an inordinate interest in fashion, and the adoption of foreign manners and language. Courtly Abusion in Magnificence, for example, besides being shown as an unworthy courtier and a gallant, is also guilty of spreading the taste for French fashion all over England (11.877-911). Or, as will be suggested in the next chapter, some Vices demonstrate their allegiance to aliens by sprinkling their speech with foreignisms, especially French. Manipulated in this way, the Vices fulfil a double function: not only do they satirize members of the Commonwealth susceptible to foreign influence, but also aliens.

1.3 Other Personifications

The interludes also present a series of personified characters who, though they may be labelled 'good' and 'evil', do not have their functions predetermined by their names. Examples of these abstractions can be found in the earliest interludes, such as Strength and Health in The Pride of Life, evil because they support the King in his presumption; the World in The Castle of Perseverance and The World and the Child, responsible for the protagonist's fall; and Fellowship and Kindred who forsake the eponymous hero of Everyman.

As the century advances, the personifications expand to include figures which indicate the dramatists' interest in socio-political issues. The concern with education creates a character like Discipline in The Longer Thou Livest. The growing materialism of the age suggests figures like Poverty (later Prosperity) and Abundance in Impatient Poverty, Treasure in The Trial of Treasure and Lucre in Wilson's London plays. Preoccupation with social order is reflected in the creation of characters like Authority and Correction in The Tide Tarrieth No Man.

In spite of the increasing secularization of the drama, concern with the propagation of the new religion is seen in the figures of New Custom and Light of the Gospel, both Protestant ministers in New Custom. And, in spite of the non-religious abstractions like Fortune in The Longer Thou Livest, The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality, and The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune, Rumour in Appius and Virginia, Patient Grissell and Clyomon and Clamydes, and Fame in Horestes and The Three Ladies of London, the underlying moral concerns of the playwrights are revealed by the presence of several characters bearing God's name. They can either be merciful like God's Felicity in New Custom, God's Merciful Promises in Lusty Juventus, or God's Promises in Like Will to Like; or retributive figures like God's Visitation in The Trial of Treasure, God's Plague in Enough Is as Good as a Feast and God's Judgment in The Longer Thou Livest.

Like the Virtues and Vices already discussed, these moral abstractions may also be presented as diversified members of humanity in general, and also, as different types of English men and women in particular. To quote just a few examples from a wide range of social types, there are the knights Strength and Health in the early The Pride of Life, and the three lords of Lincoln - Desire, Delight, and Devotion - and the three lords of London - Pomp, Pleasure, and Policy - in the late The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London. As for personified abstractions portrayed as female types, one may cite Lady Treasure in The Trial of Treasure and Lady Lucre in Wilson's London plays.

Yet, the most significant exploitation of personifications as feminine characters is to be found in the allegorical treatment given to England. As has already been seen in the previous chapter, the country is, at the same time, the character and the setting of the interludes in which it appears. The present investigation will focus its attention on the portrayal

of England as a feminine character.

Though both Albion Knight and Magnificence are also allegorical representatives of the Commonwealth, they are presented as men, acting out the plight of a Mankind figure, torn between good and evil counsellors. Widow England in King John and the title-heroine of Respublica are handled differently: they are both depicted as poor widows, pathetically defenceless against the malice of the world. The dramatic relevance of making England a woman is clear in King John.³³ A frail, helpless widow is presented as being threatened by such formidable foreign powers as those minutely described by Pandulphus :

We have, on the north, Alexander, the King of Scots,
With an army of men that for their towns cast lots.
On the south side we have the French king with his power,
Which will slay and burn till he come to London Tower.
In the west parts we have King Alfonso with the Spaniards,
With ships full of gunpowder now coming hither towards;
And on the east side we have Esterlings, Danes, and Norways,
With such power landing as can be resisted no ways.
(II.p.54)

Following in Bale's footsteps, the author of Respublica portrays England as a poor, delicate widow who cannot be helped by any segment of English society. Yet, both playwrights exploit her femininity in different ways; in King John, her weakness is emphasized, hence her powerlessness against alien invasion; in Respublica, however, it is her gentle nature, and simple faith which make her an easy prey to the Vices. That they know how to take advantage of her trustful character can be inferred from this remark by Avarice:

Alas, good poor silly soul, bear her fair in hand
And ye may win her as you lust, to use her land.
(III.6.967-8)

The personification of London is treated in an ingenious way by Wilson in The Three Ladies of London and The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London. The Virtues and the Vices of the plays are not externalizations

of the conflicting elements in Mankind's soul. They belong to the city, which is, thus, transformed into one of the characters of the action without actually being present. Although it is not clear in the first interlude whether London is to be regarded as a man or a woman, there is a stage direction in the second which reads: 'Enter, for the Preface, a Lady very richly attired, representing London....(p.373). London may also have been personified in other interludes for there are two lost ones significantly entitled Lusty London (1580), and London against the Three Ladies (1581). The latter appears to be an obvious answer to Wilson's first play,³⁴ and could easily contain a personification of the city.

As has been proposed, any abstraction could be humanized and shown as a social type, depending on the playwright's intentions. What should be remembered, however, is that interlude-writers did not intend to transform all allegorical characters into English types: when abstractions served certain dramatic purposes, the authors retained their allegorical nature. For instance, in Appius and Virginia, subscribing to the idea that no subject could rebel against his ruler, the author resorts to the personifications Justice and Reward to punish Appius. The allegorical nature of the characters, made clear in the texts, is reinforced by special costumes indicating that they are to be seen as non-human personages.³⁵ Hence the effectiveness of God's Judgment, who, in The Longer Thou Livest, appears with a 'terrible visure' (s.d. before 1.1759), and Damnation, in All for Money, 'who shall have a terrible vizard on his face, and his garment shall be painted with flames of fire' (s.d. before 1.291).

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Although abstractions can be presented as sexless, dehumanized characters, this is rarely the case. The texts of the interludes themselves indicate that, generally, the main allegorical characters of the action are

transformed into concrete types of men and women. The retention of abstract names when a diversified human portraiture is actually being offered may be explained by several reasons. It may either be the result of the conservatism of the popular theatre, which adheres to the allegorical mode mainly for tradition's sake - with or without the playwright's realization that in drama, it is very difficult to keep abstractions as such if he wants to make his action compelling. Or, it may be the principle of convenience and economy at work since most personified abstractions can be treated as being self-motivated. Or, it may be a conscious device adopted by some writers of socio-political interludes for, as has been suggested, no one 'who hoped to discuss kingship or government of the commonwealth on the stage, particularly at court, could afford to jettison abstract virtues and vices as vehicles for such debate since the very anonymity of such characters provided the playmaker with just the shield of ambiguity that he needed to protect himself and his players'.³⁶

The Englishness of the Vices may be taken for granted, but that of the other allegorical characters has to be established in conjunction with the other components of the drama. Like these, the handling of characterization is subservient to didacticism, and, consequently, most personified abstractions - in varying measure - offer critical images of men and women of contemporary native society. These images, however, can only be effectively apprehended if the reader enters imaginatively into the theatrical world of the interlude. He must try to visualize their non-illusory conditions of performance, with all the characters - or most of them - wearing contemporary costume. Only then will the idea of these abstractions depicted as men and women of the times be fully realized. The reaction of a modern spectator who had the opportunity to watch a production of Mankind can be quoted as a proof that allegorical characters

can be seen as concrete social types. According to him, 'what sticks in one's mind from seeing the play, however, is not the particular names but the character of the three minor vices given them by their costumes as gallants. Similarly, Mercy's character as a priest derives primarily from the impact of his costume; Mankind's as a husbandman from his farm laborer's coat'.³⁷ It may be inferred from this remark that, for a contemporary English audience, it would not be difficult to regard these gallants, priests and husbandmen as their own fellow-citizens.

2. The Mankind Representative

The type of interlude in which the problem of human salvation, and the conflict between good and evil centre on a Mankind figure seems to be particularly English. After examining continental plays, Hardin Craig concludes that the above-mentioned kind does not exist among them. And, as far as France is concerned, he remarks that 'there seems to be no evidence that the particular universal type of Morality play that is dominant in England made its appearance in France at any time early enough to have been the original invention'. And he adds further that, 'many of the French dramas are genuine morality plays, but the English type with Mankind as its hero is not found'.³⁸

An exhaustive list of French allegorical plays compiled by John S. Weld with a brief account of the themes and plots ³⁹ confirms Craig's first statement, and corrects the second. Among one hundred and forty-one 'moralités' there are only two with a Mankind representative and both are supposedly later than their English counterparts: L'homme pecheur (c.1494) and Le Gouuert d'Humanité (c.1538).⁴⁰ This appears to indicate the Englishness not only of this dramatic form, but also of its central character.

It is obvious that not all interludes conform to the above-mentioned type, but, as has been remarked, 'this simple plot had been and was to remain astonishingly popular in the native English drama'.⁴¹ It contains great dramatic potentialities in the handling of the protagonist, which are developed throughout the history of the interludes, and culminate in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus. The generic figure of Mankind is handled in different ways. It may be divided into types to suit the diversified thematic concerns of interlude-writers, and appears as Youth, Wit, or Poverty. It may be bifurcated into two contrasting protagonists like Lust and Just in The Trial of Treasure and Worldly Man and Heavenly Man in Enough Is as Good as a Feast, to present two opposite ways of life, one leading to damnation, and the other to salvation. It may be represented by three figures like Civil Order, Clergy and Nobility, the English ruling classes corrupted by the Vices in King John. And, it may be emblematic of the King of England as the title-characters of Magnificence and Albion Knight. What is particularly relevant for this discussion is that, as will be shown below, most of these Mankind representatives assimilate themselves to the English scene.

As the Mankind figures make their first appearances in interludes which are predominantly allegorical, it is usually taken for granted that they are abstractions. Bernard Spivack is one of the few critics who holds a different view; according to him,

into the morality drama from its beginning there intruded, under his various names and aspects, the figure of mankind, who, strictly speaking, does not belong in the allegory at all. He is not a personification but a universalized type; and he is placed in the position, absurd from the viewpoint of allegory, of fraternizing with his personified attributes.⁴²

The foregoing statement, though useful in the clarification of the nature of Mankind representatives, is too generalized. What the author forgets to mention is that though most central figures are called Mankind, Everyman,

Humanity, Man, and Worldly Man - obviously universalized types - there are other protagonists who are personified abstractions such as Freewill, Imagination, Youth, Poverty, and Lust. For this reason, W.R. Mackenzie's view that 'the principal characters are personified abstractions or highly universalized types'⁴³ is to be preferred for its inclusiveness.

The humanization of the Mankind character - whether a personified abstraction or a universalized type - results from the already examined tendency of the drama to put tangible human beings on the stage as well as from the didactic need to encourage a vicarious participation in the hero's plight on the part of the audience. As a consequence, playwrights are faced with the problem of dealing with two opposite techniques: at the same time that they try to universalize their protagonists to reach as many people as possible, they also try to make their portrayals more convincing and immediate by tinging them with Englishness - the extent of which varies from one interlude to another. On the whole, it seems valid to say that in most Mankind representatives their human, English traits prevail over their universal ones. With the exceptions of Mankind in The Castle of Perseverance and the title-character of Everyman who move in predominantly cosmic settings, all the other Mankind figures are given defined roles in the English social context.

The diversified social portraiture of the Mankind protagonist is illustrated by the eponymous hero of Mankind, who is a farmer; Freewill and Imagination, portrayed as two young delinquents in Hickscorner; Humanity in The Four Elements and Wit in the three 'Wit' plays depicted as aspirant scholars; the Catholic Youth and the Protestant Lusty Juventus who are both young men led astray by bad company in the interludes that bear their names; Poverty, initially a poor man in Impatient Poverty; Lust, a young prodigal in The Trial of Treasure, and Worldly Man, a landlord

in Enough Is as Good as a Feast.

As has already been suggested in the previous chapter, most of the above protagonists move in a social environment which proves to be English. Thus; as indicated by the names of the villages cited in the play, Mankind tills his soil somewhere in East Anglia (ll.505-15); Freewill and Imagination show themselves well acquainted with Newgate, Tyburn and St. Thomas a Watering (pp.152-4 and p.156); Humanity's native country is named by Experience (p.28) and Ignorance (p.41), and Youth places himself in the same national boundaries as the spectators when he asks Charity :

Were thou born in Trumpington,
And brought up at Hogsnorton?
(ll.594-6)

and when he refers specifically to England (l.705); besides, Youth offers the special instance of being a figure thoroughly familiar to his audience for he is also a folk-play hero and a Morris dancer.⁴⁴ With the exception of the 'Wit' characters who belong to an ungeographical world - chiefly in Wit and Science and The Marriage of Wit and Science - all the remaining characters quoted above belong to the native social environment. This has to be inferred from the atmosphere of Lusty Juventus and The Trial of Treasure but it is clearly delineated in Impatient Poverty and Enough Is as Good as a Feast.

The Mankind representative is often portrayed as a member of the higher classes. Here it is worth recalling that there is a long tradition behind the presentation of this central character as an aristocratic figure which goes from The Pride of Life (early fourteenth century) to the lost The Cradle of Security (1570).⁴⁵ Thus, in Nature, Man is a noble lord, and in The World and the Child, Manhood is depicted as a Christian Knight :

Ye must, Manhood, with all your might
Maintain Holy Church's right,
For this longeth to a knight
Plainly in every place.

(11.443-6)

Yet their corruption is similar to that of the farmer Mankind and the young scholar Humanity: Man enjoys himself in the tavern with Kate and Margery (pp.78-80), while Manhood revels with Folly in London (1.707), and finishes in Newgate (1.790). Yet, the most important social position occupied by the Mankind representative is when he becomes the embodiment of English kingship in Magnificence and Albion Knight. These 'King of England figures' illustrate a very interesting development in the handling of the characterization of the central character. For, at the same time that they expand the idea of the Mankind figure, since it is no longer the salvation of a soul but of a whole nation which is at stake, they also limit his universal nature by their obvious Englishness.

Whereas most interlude-writers seem to take for granted that their Mankind representative has to be anglicized, a process facilitated by the growing secularization of the drama, one finds, in the second half of the sixteenth century, two authors who deliberately try to keep their central characters universalized. They are W. Wager in The Longer Thou Livest (1559) and Nathaniel Woodes in The Conflict of Conscience (1572). It is worth looking at their efforts in some detail since they are the only playwrights who expound why and how they deal with the process of universalization.

Though the names of their protagonists do not make their universality apparent, both authors inform the audience why they did not try to individualize their heroes. In his prologue, Wager says :

Do we not see at these days so many past cure
That nothing can their crookedness rectify
Till they have destroyed them utterly?
The image of such persons we shall introduce
Represented by one whom Moros we do call.

(11.47-51)

And, during the play, he makes Piety translate the hero's name twice in the course of the same speech, to make sure that his spectators would remember the meaning of the appellation :

Moros is a fool by interpretation
But wisdom goeth not all by the name
And though 'Moros' a fool doth signify,
Yet, you may be wise, as I trust you will
(11.263-4,271-2)

Woodes provides a more interesting case. Basing his interlude on a true story, he universalizes his protagonist for reasons that deserve to be quoted at some length :

But Spera's name for causes just, our Author doth omit,
And at this time imagine him Philologus to be;
First, for because a Comedy will hardly him permit
The vices of one private man to touch particularly,
Again, now shall it stir him more who shall it hear or see,
For if that Spera had been one, we would straight deem
in mind
That all by Spera spoken were - ourselves we would not
find.
(11.36-42)

Following in Wager's footsteps, Woodes also volunteers to explain the meaning of the hero's name:

But sith Philologus is nought else but 'one that
loves to talk'
And common of the Word of God, but hath no
further care,
According as it teacheth them in God's fear
for to walk -
If that we practice this indeed, philologi we are
(11.43-6)

Yet, in spite of their Greek names, and professed universalization, both Moros and Philologus become anglicized, though in different degrees. The latter's Protestant plight in the hands of the Papal Inquisition takes place in an atmosphere permeated by Englishness owing to Caconos's northern accent and the presence of several Vices; the native scene is not specifically delineated because of the scarcity of topographical allusions (only one: 1.952). The action of The Longer Thou Livest, however, is openly located in England by Discipline (1. 1027). Moros

betrays his nationality by his fondness for native songs (11.71-101); by the fact that he is well-acquainted with the Butcher's Hall in St. Nicholas, the meat market in Eastcheap, and the brew houses in St. Katherine's (11.251-4);⁴⁶ and, later in life, by the characters with English alliterative double-names he surrounds himself with (11.1715-34). One must not forget that, in both cases, the central characters would be wearing contemporary dress - particularly Moros, who is also a satirical portrait of a gallant - which would reinforce their nativeness. As a result, the universalization of these characters is circumscribed by their Englishness: both Moros and Philologus turn out to be representatives of English fools and English Protestants respectively.

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As has been suggested, a series of interludes revolves around a Mankind representative, and his choice between good and evil. This character, apparently confined to English drama, can be either a universalized type or an abstraction. Yet, due to the underlying dramatic conventions and the operative didactic purposes, the Mankind figure has to be humanized, and in this process, he becomes anglicized. Most playwrights seem unaware of the opposite tendencies of universalization and anglicization; the few who are aware, however, reach the same results.

The Mankind representatives are portrayed only as men belonging to several social classes from peasant to prince. Though, in this section, emphasis has been placed on the native social environment within which these characters move, they also derive their Englishness from the other elements of the dramatic form. Thus, they are presented in the light of topical issues such as the choice of the right religion, the uses and abuses of wealth, and the welfare of the English Commonwealth; they establish a close relationship with the audience either by confiding in or exhorting it; and, are presumably, dressed like most of its members.

Though some Mankind representatives can be immediately recognized as anglicized like Albion Knight, and, to a less extent, Magnificence, it is only in Gorboduc that the Mankind figure becomes a fully English character. Though King Gorboduc is still an embodiment of English kingship and shows himself torn between good and evil, he is no longer a universalized type like Albion Knight nor an abstraction like Magnificence, but an English king from what was thought to be the historical past.

3. English Characters

As has been proposed, many personified abstractions are actually type characters with allegorical names. This is, however, a fact which escapes even such sensitive critics as S. L. Bethell, who remarks :

It is very important to realise that the degree of representationalism attained in Shakespeare's characters was something quite new, and that an elderly member of the Globe audience might be more familiar with personified virtues and vices than with the new-fangled character types. Moreover, transition from allegorical figures to the ordinary stage types was a gradual process, like the transition from types to individuals in the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

It is true that the degree of representationalism in Shakespeare's characters was something quite new, but the 'new-fangled character types' were far from it. Not taking into consideration the abstractions personified as types as early as the Digby mystery play of Mary Magdalene (c.1480-1520) one finds a 'taverner' among the Biblical and allegorical characters. Furthermore, as Madeleine Doran has pointed out, the art of social portraiture was thoroughly familiar in medieval and early Renaissance satire, exemplum, and interludes :

The literature of virtues and vices and the literature of 'estates' both helped develop an art of depicting types. The personification of vices and virtues in the moralities, or the illustration of social evils in sermons or satires, called for the depiction of moral and social types, often given great artistic vitality as in Barclay and some of the best moral interludes, by realistic and individualized detail, but always strongly marked with the lines of the genus.⁴⁸

Therefore, one may conclude that 'the transition from allegorical figures to the ordinary stage types' that Bethell mentions is less a change in the way of depicting characters than in naming them. As has been seen, abstractions could slide into social types easily: not only because it is difficult - in dramatic terms - to keep them apart, but also, as the same critic recognizes, because both abstractions and types are 'simplifications of the actual, and are simplified to take their place in an interpretation of experience'.⁴⁹ As most of the experience that interlude-writers were bent on interpreting was specifically geared towards the interest of the Commonwealth, it is no wonder that their abstractions could assume the characteristics of recognizable figures from contemporary society, and their types could convey critical images of men and women of the time.

It is worth observing that in this vast gallery of portraits of representatives of English society, there is a predominance of average citizens, good and bad. From the time of John Heywood, commoners are the main characters of a series of interludes, for example: Johan Johan, The Four PP, Ralph Roister Doister, Gammer Gurton's Needle, Jack Juggler, Tom Tyler and His Wife, The Pedlar's Prophecy, The Cobbler's Prophecy, and A Knack to Know a Knave. Whereas some types are English because they belong to an unmistakably native environment, most low-life characters - like the Vice - incorporate their own self-expressive characteristics into their representational types. This signifies that they are essentially English, even if they may appear in the foreign fictitious locales of some interludes.

Many playwrights are fond of introducing English characters who do not actually appear on the stage. This is, basically, a method of creating the illusion of expansiveness,⁵⁰ but it has other functions which

vary from play to play. In Mankind, for example, the listing of characters from Master Huntington of Sawston to Hammond of Swaffham (ll.505-15) serves to locate the action in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk. In Thersites, the fact that the Greek hero's friends mentioned in the text all have English names such as Simikin Sydn'am Sumn'nor, Peter Pie-baker, and Nichol Nevergood (p.217), contributes to the anglicization of the setting. In Ralph Roister Doister, Matthew Merrygreek refers to a series of alliteratively-named English characters with whom he is on good terms (I.1.17-26) only to select Ralph as his chief victim (I.1.27-8). In Gammer Gurton's Needle characters brought into the action by reference such as Tom Tailor (II.1.46), Kirstian Clack, Tom Simpson's maid, (II.1.62), Sim Glover (II.3.32), Tom Tankard (III.4.26.29), and a shop-owner suggestively named Hob Filcher (III.3.74) help to diversify the population of the small village in which the action takes place. And, in The Longer Thou Livest when People recites the 'whole alphabet' of Moros's officers, he does it to convey the enormity of the protagonist's social evils, perpetrated with the help of :

Sir Anthony Arrogant, auditor,
Bartolmeu Briber, bailie,
Clement Catchpole, cofferer,
Division Double-faced Davy,
Edmund Envious, chief of the livery,
William Witless, the great warrior ,
(ll.1715-19, 1734)

It is worth noticing that Moros's officers, like many of the other characters cited above, reflect 'the alliterative nomenclature in which English popular humour has at all times delighted'.⁵¹

In this section, with the exception of the gallant, only characters immediately defined as types by their names will be dealt with. The name may either be a class label such as 'judge', 'doctor', or 'pedlar'; of a 'nom parlant' or charactonym like Cutbert Cutpurse, Pierce Pickpurse, or Nichol Newfangle; or a suggestive epithet such as Grim, for colliers,

Hodge for rustics, or Mother Bee for old countrywomen.

3.1 Men

As it is not possible to deal with all the English male characters in detail, only the types more frequently portrayed in the interludes will be the subject of this discussion. They will be treated in descending order of importance. The dominant concern here is to propose that these characters present critical images of several social types, and, taken all together, provide a composite portrait of contemporary Englishmen.

3.1.1 Gallants

The characterization of the gallant is intimately connected with the pervasive minor theme of sartorial extravagance found throughout the history of the interludes. Another social portrait painted in connection with this theme is the courtier who is, often, considered a gallant. For example, one of the Vice-courtiers of Magnificence - Crafty Conveyance - remarks to two others, Counterfeit Countenance and 'Fansy' :

Why, man, it were to great a wonder,
That we thre galauntes sholde be longe asonder.
(11.510-11)

The association between gallants and members of the higher classes (courtiers, lords, etc.) is a normal consequence of the correlation between dandyism and leisure. Thus, it is no surprise that the economic aspect of extravagance in dressing should contribute to the gallant's portrait, and provoke a wave of criticism as well.

The moralists' preoccupation with the undue attention paid to clothes is an old one, dating from Biblical times.⁵² As far as interludes are concerned, the wickedness of the gallant is seen from several angles, but the main objection is moral. As a consequence, the gallant is often related to evil: Lucifer dresses as a gallant to corrupt Mind, Will, and

Understanding in Wisdom; the Vices Pride in Nature and Courtly Abusion in Magnificence are the embodiments of personal vanity expressed in their fashionable costumes; and in Albion Knight, Injury's love of expensive clothes is one of his sinful attributes. As for the Mankind representative, whereas the vicious Lust in The Trial of Treasure is a gallant from the start, Moros, in The Longer Thou Livest, becomes one in the process of his corruption.

On social grounds, one of the main objections to the gallant is that he can indulge in expensive apparel by exploiting the poor. Such is the accusation of the Ploughman, in Gentleness and Nobility, when he tells the Knight :

And as for your fyne cloth and costly aray
I cannot see whi ye ought or mai
Call your self noble because ye were it
Which was made bi other menis labour and wit.
(11.326-9)

Another objection is that gallants are willing to run into debt in order to be fashionable; this is an old complaint, for, already Pride in Nature ruins himself for his love of apparel (p.116). The young would-be courtier Willing-to-Win-Worship in The Tide Tarrieth No Man sells his lands to buy clothes which he really does not need :

And though I have attire both costly and gay,
Yet unless it be new I shall have but a geck.
(11.567-8)

These extremes of personal vanity are criticized in the person of the gallant, not only for the socio-economic problems they create but also because they are responsible for a break of social decorum. For, in a hierarchical society like the Tudor one, men were supposed to dress according to their social level and financial means.⁵³

Furthermore, the gallant is criticized on nationalistic grounds. He is considered unpatriotic for being responsible for the widespread

influence of foreign fashion, especially French. The anti-foreign sentiments of the time lay prideful excesses of dress at the feet of French influence. This can be seen in non-dramatic literature too, for example, in Alexander Barclay's translation of Sebastian Brant's The Ship of Fools (1509). In the section called Of newe fassions and disgised garmentes, the translator explicitly addresses Englishmen in his 'envoy' :

Reduce courtiers clerly unto your remembrance,
From whence this disgysing was brought wherein ye go
As I remember it was brought out of France. 54

In the interludes, the Vice-gallants are shown as being influenced by French fashion: Courtly Abusion in Magnificence openly acknowledges his indebtedness to it (ll.877-9). As far as the English types proper are concerned, one example is supplied by Tom Tossopot, one of the two gallants of Like Will to Like, who tells the other - Nichol Newfangle :

You know when you brought into England this new-
fangled kind,
That tosspots and ruffians with you were first
acquainted.

(ll.256-7)

The text does not make it clear where the fashion comes from, but one may infer from the cases cited before that it is probably French. In connection with the gallant's aping of foreign fashion, what one does not encounter in the interludes is his alleged tendency to borrow fashions from several countries, and mix them together. This is exploited in the later drama, and it can also be found in several comments in the non-dramatic literature of the time.⁵⁵

Ultimately, the gallant is also painted as foolish: one must remember that he is one of the passengers of The Ship of Fools. He can either make a fool of himself like the court-pages Will and Jack in Damon and Pithias, who try to emulate their betters' extravagant fashions, and provoke a deflating comment from Grim, the collier :

Pretty men, quoth you? Nay, you are strong
men, else you could not bear these breeches.
(p.71)

Or he is portrayed as a fool in the sense that he fails to realize that his love of fashion will cause him social distress and spiritual damnation. Such is the case of the gallant Tom Tossplot (Like Will to Like) who forsakes his good friends because :

They would have me leave off my pride and my swearing,
My new-fangled fashions, and leave off this wearing.
(11.238-9)

The most foolish gallant of all - in both the literal and the metaphorical senses - is Moros in The Longer Thou Livest. He provides great amusement for the audience by his preoccupation with fashionable apparel:

By my troth, the thing that I desire most
Is in my cap to have a goodly feather.
(11.1535-6)

When he is given one, the stage direction reads: 'Look upward to see the feather. Stumble and fall' (before 1.1552). Like Tom Tossplot, Moros, who loves clothes, and 'of raiment' will have 'shifts twenty' (1.1116), cannot realize that his personal vanity will contribute to sending him to hell.

A contemporary English audience would have no difficulty in recognizing these satirical portraits of the native gallant, reinforced by the player's costume; for, the gallant's dress, 'intended by him to reach heights of novelty, became for that reason as instantly identifiable as a uniform'.⁵⁶

3.1.2 Churchmen

As has already been suggested, with the exceptions of the Virtues in Mankind, The World and the Child, Hickscorner and Youth, presented as members of the clergy, the images of churchmen which emerge from the interludes are far from flattering. Obviously, the above exceptions belong to the moral-religious plays of Catholic England; but, as has also been indicated, even

these plays already project the image of the bad priest. This unflattering image is further confirmed when one turns to the portrayal of clergymen in secular interludes. John Heywood, for example, depicts sinful churchmen in The Pardoner and the Friar, The Four PP, and Johan Johan. His pardoners, like his friar, are hypocritical and deceitful rogues. The pardoners' reputation as liars is in fact frequently alluded to in the interludes. In The Four PP, the Palmer tells the Pardoner :

Right seldom is it seen, or never,
That truth and pardoners dwell together;
(11.109-10)

The hero of Thersites reinforces this assertion :

While pardoners can lie,
Merchants can buy,
And children cry:
(p.202)

As for Sir John, the priest of Johan Johan, Heywood makes him guilty of Knowledge's accusation, in Everyman, that some churchmen

....haunteth women's company
With unclean life, as lusts of lechery.
(11.761-2)

In post-Reformation interludes, the portrait of Catholic churchmen is, not surprisingly, painted in much darker colours. As has already been seen, zealous Protestant authors like John Bale do not hesitate to turn Catholic priests into Vices such as those of Three Laws and King John; yet, the commonest Vice portrayed as a Catholic priest is Ignorance. Another member of the Catholic clergy whose ignorance is emphasized though he has another appellation is Caconos in The Conflict of Conscience. As he cannot read his breviary he must depend on the pictures for his knowledge of what is in the book (11.873-907):

For se lang as thea han Images wharon te luke,
What nede thea be distructed awt of a Buke?
(11.869-70)

Similarly Sir Lawrence Livingless in All for Money lost his living because

he could no longer hide his ignorance when the people started reading St. Paul's Epistles and the New Testament in English (11.1186-91).

Also viewed in an unfavourable light is Sir John, the Catholic priest who inhabits the supposedly Italian setting of Misogonus. As has been suggested in the previous chapter, the play is really about English rustic life and manners, and Sir John is one of the characters who contributes to the anglicization of the foreign scene. He is portrayed as leading a life quite out of keeping with his religious functions, as indicated by his pastimes:

Yf your worshipp lack a gamster ame a gamster very fayre
for a pound or tow Ile kepe yow company by day or by night
at cardes dice or tables or anythinge I will not spare
to kepe a gentleman compa^{ny} I doe greatly delighte.
(II.4.115-18)

It is worth noticing that in some plays of the second half of the century it is not only the Catholic clergy but priests in general who are satirically portrayed. Such is the Priest or 'interpreter of religion' in The Pedlar's Prophecy who is told by the 'prophet':

....Bishops and Priests all,
Because they are the beginners of all controversie,
In one day they shall be consumed both great and small.
(11.1286-8)

Sir Peter Pleaseman, in The Three Ladies of London, is a parson who regards religion as any other commodity which can be offered to Lady Lucre :

Indeed I have been a Catholic: marry, now for the
most part, a Protestant.
But, and if my service may please her - hark in your
ear, sir -
I warrant you my religion shall not offend her.
(p.309)

And, the Priest of A Knack to Know a Knave⁵⁷ is actually depicted as a threat to the fictitious Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth, since he abandons his religious duties to engage in trade, exporting vital goods from the country (p.508)

Thus, with the exception of the mild curate Doctor Rat in Gammer Gurton's Needle, and the harmless priest in The Disobedient Child none of

the other churchmen project a very good image. Furthermore, there is one more reprehensible attribute shared by most of them: the love of drink. Even Doctor Rat is guilty of it: he is found by the boy Cock with a cup of ale in his hand (III.4.27), and shows his preoccupation with drinking by his references to it (IV.1.7 and IV.4.28). Sir John in Misogonus promises Meretrix to supply games and dice if he is given good liquor (II.4.133-4). Caconos in The Conflict of Conscience admits that he would rather have 'a cup of nale then a Testament' (1.866). In All for Money, Sir Lawrence's love of drink can be inferred from Sin's remark :

Who is it that calls me to drink some good ale?
It is Sir Lawrence Livingless,
twenty pounds to a nail!
He will tipple at it solemnly, as long as it is stale.
(11.1334,1335-6)

And, finally, the Priest of A Knack to Know a Knave is thus described by Honesty :

Yet if a make a good sermon but once in a year,
A will be forty times in a tavern making good cheer:
(p.585)

That the vast gallery of portraits of churchmen in the interludes is meant to be representative of the contemporary English ecclesiastical scene may be verified by the settings of the plays in which they appear - clearly recongizable as English. As far as Misogonus and The Conflict of Conscience are concerned, their social environment is also native though less obviously so.

3.1.3 Representatives of the Law

The representatives of the law most frequently depicted in the interludes are judges; lawyers and bailiffs are less numerous. The image of the upright judge is conveyed several times. In Nice Wanton, he is significantly called Daniel, and vehemently repels Iniquity's suggestion of bribery :

Should I be a briber? Nay! He shall have the law,
As I owe to God and the king obedience and awe.
(11.363-4)

The severe judge of the character Prodigality in The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality, mollified by the prisoner's sincere repentance, promises to send a petition to the Queen asking for the sentence of death to be commuted to a more lenient punishment (ll.1310-13). Severity, the judge of Like Will to Like administers justice without partiality to all evil-doers and offenders:

Not for hatred, nor yet for malice,
But to advance virtue and suppress vice.
(ll.1047-8)

In The Three Ladies of London there are two judges: one Turkish (to be dealt with later), and one English, who condemns Lucre and Love to hell, and Conscience to prison. He is an honest judge, and yet he functions as a vehicle for Wilson's ingenious way of criticizing native law. The judge's name is Nemo, and, as Sincerity observes, 'Nemo hath no being' (p.299). The author shows his impatience with the bad administration of English justice by suggesting that only Nemo dared to condemn Lucre - a feat no other magistrate has attempted before.⁵⁸

Judges are openly criticized in The Pedlar's Prophecy, for, according to the protagonist,

All judges.... love rewards, and follow gifts,
They pervert justice, and equall judgement:
To save malefactors, they make fowle shifts,
And some receive mony to condemne the innocent.
(ll.1499-502)

The Pedlar's complaints are illustrated by the behaviour of the Judge. All-for-Money who sells the law to whomever can buy it; yet, a poor man such as Moneyless-and-Friendless is sentenced to the gallows, for a minor fault, because he cannot afford to bribe the magistrate (All for Money, ll.999-1013).

Lawyers are less often depicted than judges; possibly for this reason their image is more homogeneous - they are consistently presented as dishonest and bribable. This idea must have been traditional, for already in Medwall's Nature there is an unflattering reference to lawyers: when

Sensuality informs Envy that Covetise has been staying with a priest

And lawyers eke, when they may tend thereto,
Will follow his counsel.

(p.119)

Dishonesty clearly characterizes the lawyer in The Three Ladies of London, and puts him on the evil side of society. After having heard the lawyer boast that he can twist the law, Dissimulation tells Fraud:

Marry, I like him well: he is a cunning
clerk, and one of our profession.

(p.283)

The main appearances of bailiffs in the interludes offer two completely opposite pictures. The bailiff is gentle and conciliatory in Gammer Gurton's Needle, being mainly responsible for the play's happy ending. Yet, the bailiff of Hexham in A Knack to Know a Knave is so evil that the devil carries him to hell (p.520). Furthermore, his evil lives on: he has four sons who are all harmful to the Commonwealth. Bailiffs make other sporadic appearances in the interludes, but their function is merely instrumental to the development of the plot.

It is worth noticing that the portrayal of magistrates allows an insight into contemporary English life. The trial scenes of Nice Wanton, The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality and The Three Ladies of London convey an idea of the law-court procedures of the time. This is also true of the court-scene in All for Money, but only to a certain extent, since it presents a parody of the exercise of judicial power.

3.1.4 Outlaws

The main outlaws depicted in the interludes are the cutpurses and the ruffians. Obviously they are all evil, and their presence helps to build a more complete idea of contemporary society.

As has already been indicated, some Vices - like Riot in Youth and

Shrewd Wit in Wealth and Health - are understandably portrayed as cutpurses. What is interesting, however, is that the cutpurse, like no other character, is several times brought into the interludes by reference. Whenever this happens, it is the Vice who either speaks about or to him. In Respública, Avarice, who carries bags of money around him, complains :

I am besieged now of every cutpurse.
I can nowhere now, in city neither town,
But Piers Pickpurse playeth at organs under my gown.
(V.2.1292-4)

? or
go
nowhere

In the other plays, however, the Vice refers familiarly to his 'cousin' Cutpurse. In Cambises, Ambidexter addresses him no less than four times (p.209, p.216, p.234 and p.235) as if the latter were in the audience. In Appius and Virginia, Haphazard warns the spectators :

Put hands to your pockets, have minde to your purse!
(p.17)

and, later, he invites his 'cousin' to follow him to the gallows (p.44).

The cutpurse is also addressed by the Vice in Horestes (11.1315-6), and by the Vice Courage in The Tide Tarrieth No Man, who, after a long speech (11.970-81) finishes by asking :

But cousin Cutpurse, if aught thou do get,
I pray thee let me have part of thy cheat.
I mean not of thy hanging fare
But of thy purse, and filched share.
(11.982-5)

The Vice's frequent allusions to the cutpurse seem to imply that the latter's presence at theatrical performances was a common occurrence.

The cutpurse actually appears on the stage in Like Will to Like divided into two characters: Cutbert Cutpurse and Pierce Pickpurse. In All for Money, he has a different appellation.:

My name, if you list to know, is Gregory Graceless,
That can cut a man's purse, and look in his face.
(11.925-6)

And, in A Knack to Know a Knave, he is presented against as Cuthbert Cutpurse.

The cutpurse often describes his feats and methods, displaying evident delight in his abilities. Riot in Youth (ll.261-6) and Shrewd Wit in Wealth and Health (p.216), have been quoted as boasting of their successful deeds. In Like Will to Like, both Cutbert Cutpurse and Pierce Pickpurse are equally enthusiastic and informative about their activities. This can be seen when the former, obviously pleased with himself, narrates to the audience :

By Gog's wounds it doth me good to the heart
To see how cleanly I played this part!
While they stood thrusting together in the throng,
I began to go them among,
And with this knife which here you do see,
I cut away this purse cleanly.
(ll.599-604)

This description immediately provokes Nichol Newfangle's warning to the members of the audience to look to their purses (ll.605-7).

Very close to the cutpurse is the 'ruffian'. Gregory Graceless is thus described by the stage direction in All for Money: 'Here cometh in Gregory Graceless, like a ruffian' (before l.931). This may be due to the fact the ruffian was 'a discharged serving-man or soldier who has taken to robbery with violence'.⁵⁹ Like the cutpurse, the ruffian can also be a Vice, as are Avarice and Cruelty in New Custom, and Fraud in The Three Ladies of London.

The other ruffians presented by the interludes are Huf, Ruf, and Snuff: these English low-life characters invade the Persian setting of Cambises, and are described as 'ruffianly soldiers' in the list of dramatis personae. In the same way, Snatch and Catch, though ostensibly 'sailors' are two ruffians who intrude upon the educational allegory The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom. Both groups are comically handled, and Snatch and Catch even succeed in outwitting Idleness, the Vice of the play. Tom Tosse and Dick Dicer, however, have a more sinister part in The Contention between Liberality

and Prodigality: they are the bad companions of the prodigal hero, and eventually lead him to robbery and murder.

The roisterer can also be considered as an outlaw, though he is not very clearly defined. In The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality, the constable, when describing the robbery and murder perpetrated by Prodigality, Tom Tosse, and Dick Dicer, describes them as 'Roysters most furious and mad' (1.1061), and later the sheriff refers to Prodigality as 'a certaine Royster' (1.1144). In Like Will to Like, Ralfe Roister, boasting of his knavery, says:

For I entice young gentlemen all virtue to eschew
And to give themselves to riotousness, this is true.
(11.420-1)

This is also the function of the native Dick Drumme, labelled a 'roister' in the list of characters of The Glass of Government, and who helps a parasite and a prostitute in the corruption of two young Antwerpians. In this interlude, the roisterer's action is again set within the framework of the law, since the magistrate declares that 'we may not suffer the Sonnes of honest and welthy Burghers to bee seduced, by such lewde fellowes, and they to skape skot-free'. (V.4.p.79).

As has been remarked in the introduction to this section, most low-life characters are essentially English, and take their nationality with them to foreign settings. The authors do not even try to disguise this fact by giving them names appropriate to the fictive localities they are in. Thus, one finds Huf, Ruf, and Snuff in the ancient Persia of Cambises, and Dick Drumme in the Antwerp of The Glass of Government.

3.1.5 Rustics and Colliers

Rustics and colliers, though differently portrayed share the common characteristic of speaking a rustic idiom. Most English rustics, though dominating a typically native interlude like Gammer Gurton's Needle, are usually placed in foreign settings. Thus, Hob and Lob are encountered in

the Persia of Cambises; Rusticus and Hodge in the Greece of Horestes; Codrus in the Italy of Misogonus and Corin in the Norway of Clyomon and Clamydes. They all speak in dialect, and this also applies to most of the characters in Gammer Gurton's Needle.

These rustics are all presented as good, simple people, endearing in their naïveté, comically but sympathetically drawn. The image they purvey reinforces the widespread idea of the natural goodness of country people. When they are temporarily aggressive, as in Cambises and Horestes, they are the victims of the Vice's influence. In Cambises, for example, Ambidexter confides to the audience: 'I will cause them to make a fray' (p. 221). Eventually Hob and Lob start fighting, and only part when the former's wife interferes.

In the interludes the colliers are represented by Grim in Damon and Pithias and Tom 'Collier' in Like Will to Like. The character's Englishness may be rooted in the popular tradition for, as has been suggested, 'the black-faced collier seems to have strayed from some Flou Monday play',⁶⁰ but his unflattering portrait in both plays rather indicates a satire on 'one of the most currently disliked types of petty swindler, the dishonest coal-dealer.'⁶¹

Grim is an invader of the Syracusan setting. He is comically depicted, suggesting an ugly and blackened figure, who speaks rustic and attempts some French phrases. His dishonesty is easily deducible, though, when pressed to tell the truth, he cunningly protects his secret:

Shall I tell you by what sleight I got all this
money?
Then ich were a noddy indeed; no, no, I warrant
ye.

though admitting:

Yet in few words I tell you this one thing,
He is a very fool that cannot gain by the king.
(p. 78)

Tom 'Colier', on the other hand, is openly dishonest. He is one of the many evil characters of the play, and the first to boast of his doings. When asked if he has no qualms of conscience for cheating his neighbours, his answer is:

No, marry, so ich may gains vor my labour;
It is a common trade nowadays, this is plain,
To cut one another's throat for lucre and again.
(ll. 161-3)

gains

Thus, these two types of low-class characters project contrasting images of contemporary Englishmen even though most of them apparently inhabit foreign countries.

3.1.6. Pedlars and Cobblers

Though they are not recurrent figures in the interludes, the importance of these characters lies in the fact that they are common men placed at the centre of the action of the plays in which they appear. The pedlar stands out since he is the protagonist of two interludes, displaying the same strong personality in both of them.

In The Four PP, despite the collective title, the Pedlar does not take long to establish his authority over the Pardoner, the Palmer, and the 'Pothecary:

And all ye three can lie as well
As can the falsest devil in hell.
And, though afore ye heard me grudge
In greater matter to be your judge,
Yet in lying I can some skill;
And, if I shall be judge, I will.
(ll. 442-7)

On making an inventory of the commodities he deals with - especially 'women's triflings' - he allows a glimpse into the nature of his profession (ll. 235-42). That the pedlar's customers are mainly feminine may also be seen when his counterpart in The Pedlar's Prophecy engages in conversation with a young girl who wants to buy needles and pins (ll. 143-4). That he is also a liar is observable in the long soliloquy in which he narrates his fantastic travels in search of merchandise (ll. 90-137). Both characters are moralists, but whereas the one of The Four PP is more concerned with spiritual matters the other, of The Pedlar's Prophecy is particularly interested in denouncing socio-political abuses in the Commonwealth, though, as has been seen in the previous chapter, carefully ascribing them to 'Ilion'. Ultimately, the pedlar, in both interludes, though given to lies, is also portrayed as a lively, intelligent, and critical character.

The English cobbler 'Raph' is the hero of Robert Wilson's The Cobbler's Prophecy, which supposedly takes place in Boeotia. This is a very interesting case since it is the only time in which a low-life native character impinges upon the main plot of an interlude with a foreign setting. 'Raph', being made an instrument of the Olympian gods, is seen helping the Duke to maintain the welfare of the Boeotian State. During the course of the action he changes social roles, though he is basically a cobbler:

Ile be a prophet no longer thats flatte, after I have done
beeing a souldier, Ile to cobling againe.

(ll. 1459-60)

The pedlar and the cobbler, like the ploughman of Gentleness and Nobility and the yeoman Honesty of A Knack to Know a Knave are portrayed as willing participants in the ruling of the Commonwealth. Yet, whereas the pedlar, the ploughman, and the yeoman display independent and self-

confident natures, the cobbler keeps the characteristics of comic English low-life characters - he is a henpecked husband, naïvely outspoken in Olympus, close to the audience - though, basically, the idea he conveys is a serious one. His transparent Englishness is one of the factors that leads the audience to draw parallels between the Boeotian and the native scenes.

3.1.7 Executioners

In a drama which advocates punishment for the vicious characters, it is not surprising to find the executioner represented in the interludes, though, as a type, he does not appear frequently. This may be due to the fact that punishment is generally administered by divine agents like God's Visitation, 'an executer of pain' (p. 238) who strikes Lust and Treasure in The Trial of Treasure, God's Plague who hits Worldly man in Enough Is as Good as a Feast, and Damnation who takes Judas and Dives with him in All for Money. Cambises presents a personified abstraction, Execution, who is clearly a type: he demands a reward for his labour (p. 196), and begs forgiveness of his victim (p. 198). The human counterparts of these allegorical characters are Gronno, in Damon and Pithias, and Hankin in Like Will to Like.

Gronno provides the most well-developed portrait of the executioner. He may be placed among those English low-life characters who consistently impinge upon foreign settings. In spite of the unusual fact that he does not have an English name, Gronno can use rustic idiom (p. 58), and, offer revealing facts about his profession, which could not pertain to the ancient setting of Syracuse. He tells the audience how hated executioners are, how they live in the worst part of the city, and how they are punished if they fail to do their job well:

But I must look to my toil, Pithias must
lose his head at one blow,
Else the boys will stone me to death in the
street, as I go.

(p. 91)

The custom that the condemned man's clothes fall to the executioner is differently exploited in the two interludes. In Damon and Pithias, Gronno joyfully receives Pithias's garments because the ex-tyrant Dionysius suspends the execution and provides his two recently-made friends with new apparel (p. 101). In Like Will to Like, Hankin Hangman's joy is of another kind. He tells his friend Nichol Newfangle, when they are dividing two criminals' coats between them:

Thou shoulds't have one, Nichol, I swear by the mass,
For thou bringest work for me daily to pass,
And through thy means I get more coats in

one year

Than all my living is worth beside, I swear.

(p. 160-3)

Hankin, in his brief appearance, proves to be insensitive, and hardened by his job, contrasting with Gronno who is kind, responsible, and fully aware of the unpleasantness of his task. These executioners who, like the magistrates, are portrayed as both good and bad, indicate that interlude-writers not only present diversified social types, but, occasionally, also diversify the same type.

3.1.8 Cross-Sections of Society

Although the above subsections are highly selective, and contain only some of the most interesting social types, a reading of all extant Tudor interludes conveys a varied composite picture of contemporary society. It must be added that, often, cross-sections of this society are offered in a single play to convey a critical panoramic view - to a greater or lesser extent - of the native social context.

Thus, a pedlar, a palmer, a pardoner, and a 'pothecary are presented in The Four PP; a knight, a merchant, and a plowman in Gentleness and Nobility; a gentleman, a merchant, a ranger, a water-miller, and a wind-miller - not counting a gentlewoman, a laundress, and a boy - in The Play of the Weather; a pedlar, a mariner, an artificer, a justice, a priest, and a judge in The Pedlar's Prophecy; and the different representatives of the criminal world - Tom Tossplot, Tom Collier, Ralfe Roister, Cutbert Cutpurse, and Pierce Pickpurse - in Like Will to Like. It may also be noted that the Vice Courage spreads his influence over different layers of society in The Tide Tarrieth no Man; that a franklin, a countryman, a cutpurse, a priest, and a judge are among the characters of All For Money, and that, in A Knack to Know a Knave, a yeoman, two bailiffs, a priest, a courtier, a coney-catcher, a farmer, a plowman, a bishop, a broker, a squire, a knight, a clerk, a miller, a cobbler, a blacksmith, and a king all parade before the audience.

To complete the picture of Tudor society provided by the interludes, it is necessary to look at the main feminine images which they present.

3.2 Women

Medieval England, like the rest of Christian Europe, shared a twofold attitude towards women, which can be roughly described as aristocratic and popular. Whereas the literary works for the higher classes - medieval romances and Petrarchan sonnets - idealized women, literature for the lower classes satirized them in ballads and jest-books. This contradictory attitude reaches the sixteenth century, and continues throughout its course. Yet, in England, in the second half of the century, history gives the controversy a different aspect. In 1553, Mary Tudor ascended the throne, to be succeeded by her sister Elizabeth. As Louis B. Wright observes,

Although some of her subjects might secretly agree with the pessimistic view taken by John Knox in The Monstrous Regiment of Women / 1588 /, few dared to be so bold as the Scotch preacher. Nevertheless, the unexpressed suspicion of a woman ruler may account for some of the general satire on women in the early years of her reign, and, by the same token, some of the defenses of women were doubtless inspired by a desire thus to defend indirectly the sex of the sovereign.⁶²

The image of Englishwomen in the interludes is divided: women of the lower classes are satirized, and their behaviour made to conform to the idea conveyed by the popular jests and stories. When their social position is higher - like the bourgeois Christian Custance in Ralph Roister Doister and the aristocratic Gentlewoman in The Play of the Weather - they are treated with as much respect as the spirit of comedy allows them to be. As the main high-class women of the interludes are either foreign - like the Roman Lucrece and the Biblical Hester - or have no specifically defined nationality - like Melibea - the predominant feminine image provided by the Englishwomen of the interludes is mainly farcical.

The feminine English characters who do not belong to the lower classes are few: the Gentlewoman in The Play of the Weather; Christian Custance in Ralph Roister Doister; Gammer Gurton and Dame Chat in Gammer Gurton's Needle and Dame Coy in Jack Juggler. The only one who is depicted with a view to social criticism is the first. She is illustrative of the idleness of the more privileged classes, as described by the washer-woman:

For I perceive in dancing and singing,
In eating and drinking and thine apparelling,
Is all the joy, wherein thy heart is set.
But nought of all this doth thine own labour get;
(p. 124)

All the other female characters are merely subservient to the demands of the comic plots they belong to.

The investigation of the handling of characterization in the interludes reveals that women, partly owing to the limited cast of most travelling groups of players - 'four men and a boy' - are far less numerous than men; even so, they offer varied portraits of native woman-kind. As one goes through a list of feminine social types, one realizes that only allegorical characters and the 'foreigners' Meretrix (Cambises and Misogonus) and Lamia (The Glass of Government) actually appear as prostitutes on the stage; their English counterparts are only alluded to. The other social types one encounters are the washer-woman in The Play of the Weather; the nurse in Ralph Roister Doister; the woman-cook in The Disobedient Child; the inn-hostess in The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality; and the midwife in Misogonus. Yet, as the main occupation allowed to women was that of maid, it is clear why most low-class feminine characters are portrayed as such.

English maids invade foreign settings like Joan in Fulgens and Lucres, and Mansipula - English in spite of her name - in Appius and Virginia. They are found intruding upon an educational allegory, as does Doll in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom. But, above all, they are present in farcical interludes, such as Tibet Talkapace and Annot Alyface in Ralph Roister Doister, Tib and Doll in Garnier Curton's Needle, and Alison Trip-and-Go in Jack Juggler.

The above-mentioned young maids are all alike: spirited, lively, and cunning. They are often talkative, as Tibet Talkapace's charactonym indicates, and as Alison Trip-and-Go is described:

She talketh, she chatteth like a pie all day,
And speaketh like a parrott popinjay.
(p. 11).

Furthermore, they all share the shrewish trait of mistreating and - often - beating men. Thus, Joan beats her suitors 'A' and 'B' (nt. I. 1230-4);

Mansipula does the same with her male fellow-servant (p. 12). Doll scolds Lob for the loss of the porridge-pot (The Marriage Between Wit and Wisdom, ll. 602-3, l. 605). Tibet and Annot help their mistress in beating Ralph and his men (IV. 8); in the same way Doll helps her mistress in cudgelling Doctor Rat (IV. 4. 39-43). Finally, when Jenkin Careaway describes Alison Trip-and-Go to the audience, he gives an idea of her malicious nature, and the way she treats him:

.....a spiteful lying girl, and never well,
But when she may some ill tale by me tell;
She woll, I warrant you, anon at the first
Of me imagine and say the worst;
(p. 11)

In fact, one of the commonest images of women projected by the interludes is that of the shrew. This is an inheritance from the Middle Ages, when non-dramatic literature, sermons⁶³ and drama popularized the type. The fifteenth-century dramatic entertainment Mumming at Hertford⁶⁴ presents no less than six husbands who complain of their shrewish wives to King Henry VI (ll. 1-162). The shrew is invariably identified by her beating of men, as the young maids cited above. To this list can be added the figure of Marian-May-Be-Good in Cambises: after parting Hob and Lob with a broom, she turns to the Vice and hits him (pp. 222-4). Also, in Horestes, a woman taken prisoner inverts the situation, and strikes the soldier who has arrested her (ll. 746-75).

Middle-class women are also presented with shrewish traits. Even sweet Christian Custance shows another side of her personality when, with the help of her 'knightesses' and domestic utensils, she defeats Ralph and his men (IV. 8) - a fact which has prompted the remark that she is 'as English as the Wife of Bath'.⁶⁵ Dame Coy, labelled 'a gentlewoman' in the list of dramatis personae, is differently described by Jenkin, whom she often strikes: 'a very cursed shrew, by the blessed Trinity' (p. 10).

Yet, the shrew is more fully delineated when she is shown as a wife, as are Tyb in Johan Johan, Strife, in Tom Tyler and His Wife, the Wife in The Disobedient Child, and Zelota in The Cobbler's Prophecy. Tyb not only maltreats her husband but also betrays him with the parish priest; Strife's treatment of Tom Tyler includes blows as a matter of course; the wife of 'the disobedient child' becomes her husband's greatest punishment for having disobeyed his father; and Zelota's fierceness has been such that even when Mercury strikes her mad, 'Raph', her husband, is still afraid of her:

May she is mad enough alreadie,
For she will doe nothing with me but fight,
And ye make hir more mad, shele kill me out right.
(ll. 92-4)

In short, a shrewish wife, as interlude-writers saw her, was the worst evil that could befall a man. Bearing this in mind, one can understand the full implication of Envy's curse:

I pray God send him a shrewd wife;
And then shall he have enow.
(Nature, p. 114)

The interludes also present countrywomen such as Mother Bee in The Marriage Between Wit and Wisdom, and Mother Croote in All for Money. Unlike the countrymen who are depicted as comic and harmless, both old women, though they can be funny, are far from harmless. Even if the traits of characterization differ, the pictures that emerge are both unflattering. Mother Bee only makes a brief appearance (ll. 609-35), during which she scolds her servants Doll and Lob, and finishes by beating them thoroughly. Mother Croote's personality is more fully delineated: she is one of the corrupt suitors of the no less corrupt judge All-for-Money. She is comically drawn, speaking rustic dialect, and misusing her words as a forerunner of Shakespeare's Mistress Quickly.

Furthermore, she is laughable because of the incongruity of her demand: in spite of her age - 'Cham an hundred years old, cha can skantly go on foot' (l. 1222), she admits - and of deafness and blindness, she wants to marry a twenty-three-year-old man. Her comic aspect is given a touch of wickedness when she bribes the judge to force the young man to marry her.

*

The English characters proper convey a vast gallery of portraits of contemporary men and women. They are social types, indebted to the traditions of non-dramatic literature, sermon portraiture, and medieval drama. Though most of these types are inhabitants of the native scene clearly established in the interludes they belong to, some of them carry their Englishness to foreign settings. These are low-life characters who, generally, keep their English names, characteristic traits, and local experience in the plays' non-native locales.

A few generalizations may be inferred from this collective picture of contemporary social types: for instance, gallants are evil from every possible angle; churchmen are ignorant, hypocritical, and too fond of ale; rustics are gentle, colliers dishonest, and pedlars, though liars, are good observers of the social scene. Some playwrights offer a series of portraits in one single play, usually with a view to criticize some of the classes depicted, or all of them.

Although the interludes present kings, knights and courtiers, there is a predominance of characters who do not belong to the aristocracy. Some of these characters embody the commoners' dream of participating more actively in the socio-political life of their country. The predominance of characters from the low and middle classes is particularly noticeable in the depiction of English feminine characters. Low-class

women prevail, and are presented as diversified social types, chiefly maids. Yet, since the overall image they project is farcical, all these feminine characters are either depicted as shrews or as possessing some shrewish characteristics.

The critical images of the various social classes offered by English characters, being direct and straightforward, would not make any special demands on the audience in order to be identified. Such demands were made when spectators were invited to look through the transparent non-Englishness of certain characters, and recognize their own fellow-citizens, as will be seen in the next section.

4. Anglicized Foreigners

In examining some aspects of the morality tradition in the Elizabethan drama, Willard Thorp has remarked that, 'with an independence characteristically British, classical and Renaissance stories were equipped with a Vice and occasionally with representatives of the Virtues as well, and the tale in each instance given a moral turn it did not possess in the original form.'⁶⁶ The critic could have added 'Biblical' to the classical and Renaissance stories which inspired a series of interludes. The important aspect of the above statement, however, for the purpose of this study, is its indication of the process of anglicization undergone by the stories referred to. In this process, most foreign characters were also anglicized, and it is the main aim of this section to suggest how this was achieved.

It should be noticed from the beginning that most foreigners in the interludes are main-plot characters who also happen to belong to the upper classes of their respective countries. As has already been proposed, low-class personages are predominantly English, irrespective of the setting in which they operate. This means that, on the whole,

the latter characters are free from the didactic burden of the play, and can be more realistically drawn. As for the former, they have to be more functional, not only because they are in charge of the moral lesson, but also because they provide models of behaviour. These two functions can be regarded as consequences of the process of anglicization suffered by the non-English characters.

Yet, this process can go further: although it cannot be said that all foreign characters offer critical images of contemporary Englishmen, many of them do. Whereas some foreigners are only spokesmen of the author's ideas on current issues, others are consciously portrayed as equivalents of Englishmen and women. This device of oblique characterization is helped by the overall non-illusory aspect of the interludes. As has been seen in the previous chapter, few playwrights convincingly convey and maintain an idea of foreign setting; this is also true of foreign characters in foreign settings, who have predetermined didactic functions to fulfil, and move in an atmosphere rarely tinged with foreignness. Thus, they are anglicized in varying measure; this process of anglicization would be reinforced in performance by the use of contemporary native costume.

Attention will also be paid in this section to foreign theatrical types adopted by interlude-writers and mixed with native characters. The anglicization of these borrowed characters proved to be easy, for they belong to the popular theatre of Plautus and Terence, and have a good deal in common with the English Vice.

4.1 Characters

Godly Queen Hester provides the most obvious example of oblique characterization to disguise the author's intentions to portray real English people. As was observed in the first chapter, one is easily

convinced of the topicality of the interlude, and of the identification of the characters Assuerus, Hester, and Aman, with Henry VIII, Queen Catherine, and Cardinal Wolsey respectively. Though Wolsey may be - to a certain extent - identified by the fact that the Vices Pride, Ambition, and Adulation transfer their characteristics to Aman, the main evidence for the topicality of the characters is in the scenes in which Aman denounces the 'Jews' to the King (pp. 272-4), and Hester defends them against the Counsellor's accusations (pp. 279-81).

The portraits of virtuous foreign women like Virginia, Grissell, and Susanna - all belonging to interludes of the second half of the century - may also be considered a type of oblique characterization. Owing to the current controversy concerning the good or evil nature of women, some authors may have wished to pay an indirect compliment to the Queen by selecting heroines through whom the traditional virtues of her sex - chastity, obedience, and patience - could be extolled.

Yet playwrights put the device of oblique characterization to another use, besides those of personal safeguard and indirect compliment. They employ it to objectify the images of some English social types by projecting them through their foreign counterparts. The audience, then, could look at contemporary fellow-citizens while apparently distanced from them. For instance, Henry Medwall uses the characters of Gaius Flaminius and Publius Cornelius in Fulgens and Lucres to depict two types of his contemporary society: the middle-class man, virtuous and capable, and the sinful aristocrat, who can only claim nobility of birth and inherited wealth. In order to make the latter look thoroughly unworthy, Medwall draws him as a gallant, who spends a great amount of money on his apparel:

To speak of gowns, and that good change,
Of them he hath store and plenty,
And that the fashions be new and strange,
For none of them passeth the mid-thigh.
(pt. I. 735-8)

In other words, Publius is the embodiment of Pride,⁶⁷ and the audience is led to side with Lucretia in her choice of the sober Gaius Flaminius. Even without taking into consideration the possible topical allusions to Henry VIII's preference for choosing his servants from the middle class, the two male personages project well-known images of contemporary Englishmen.

Another type which appears obliquely characterized is the magistrate, portrayed under the guise of several nationalities. He is Roman in Appius and Virginia, Persian in Cambises, Hebrew in Susanna, Antwerpian in The Glass of Government, and a Ninevite in A Looking-Glass for London and England.

The gallery of bad foreign judges contains, initially, the wicked figure of the Roman Appius. He is both a magistrate and a ruler of the realm, and his abuse of office is doubly condemnable. Yet what distinguishes Appius from the other bad judges who will be dealt with is that he is motivated by passion, not money:

Judge Appius I, the princeliest judge that
 reigneth under sun,
 And have been so esteemed long, but now
 my force is none:
 I rule no more, but ruled am: I do not judge
 but am judged;
 By beauty of Virginia my wisdom all
 is trudged.

(p. 17)

His passion makes him forget his age and his wife, and abuse the law which he should protect and respect.

The other corrupt magistrates are Sisarnes of Cambises and the judge of A Looking-Glass for London and England, who closely resemble their English counterpart All-for-Money. Both foreign judges are seen as liable to bribery, and the social consequences of their action are pointed out when in Cambises, Commons' Complaint denounces Sisarnes to the King as an oppressor of the poor (pp. 192-3); in the same way, the poor man Alcon and the ruined gentleman Thrasibulus suffer because they cannot buy the Judge of A Looking-Glass for London and England. Thus, the same complaints voiced by the Pedlar in The Pedlar's Prophecy (ll. 1499-502), and Moneyless-and-Friendless in All for Money (ll. 999-1013) are echoed in 'Persia' and 'Nineveh'.

In presenting their corrupt judges as non-English characters, the authors of these interludes were making a twofold use of the device of oblique characterization. At the same time as they protected themselves against giving offence to the native magistrates, they gave the members of the audience the opportunity to draw parallels with their dishonest representatives of the law. The character of Judex in Susanna provides a good link between the bad and good magistrates for, though fallible, he is not corrupt. He fails to see through the lies of the elders Voluptas and Sensualitas, but his condemnation of the heroine is not prompted by malice.

An upright foreign magistrate of the interludes is Severus, the Margrave of The Glass of Government. In a long soliloquy (IV. 6. pp. 67-8), he acquaints the audience with the seriousness with which he faces his office, and engages its sympathy by musing:

For what pleasure redoundeth unto an honest minde, to pronounce
sentence of death upon an offender? or what profit ariseth by
punishing of malefactors? but on that other side, what griefe
vanteth where a quiet mynde is encombred with government?

(IV. 6. p. 67)

Other interludes present a parade of characters who are obviously foreign equivalents of native types. Such are The Cobbler's Prophecy which presents a cobbler, a soldier, a country gentleman, a scholar, and a courtier acting out their parts in 'Boeotia'. In the same way, a usurer, a judge, a lawyer, a smith, and two ruffians interact in the sinful 'Nineveh' of A Looking-Glass for London and England.

There is another group of foreign personages, however, that can be better described as 'idea-characters'. They exist less as a mimesis of human beings or types than as embodiments of ideas. For example, it may be said that Danio in Calisto and Melibea is the embodiment of good fatherhood, Cambises and Dyonisius (Damon and Pithias) embody the idea of tyranny; the two friends Damon and Pithias represent the idea of friendship; and Clyomon and Clamydes personify the ideas of chivalry and courtly love. Also, in spite of the occasional realistic touches in the presentation of characters like Mary Magdalene (The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene) and Esau (Jacob and Esau) both characters are primarily embodiments of the main thematic concerns of their interludes. Mary represents salvation by faith, and Esau - plus his brother Jacob - the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. This means that these 'idea-characters' are more basically functional than some of the other foreign personages.

Finally, there are times when the foreignness of characters like those in Calisto and Melibea has to be inferred from the sources for, apart from their names, there is nothing else in the play which suggests the idea of a non-English social environment. This, obviously, facilitates the anglicization of the characters, for the audience is never told where the story is supposed to take place.

Costume plays a vital part in the process of anglicization of foreign characters. The little evidence available leads one to believe that foreigners would be dressed, like the natives, in contemporary clothes. It is true that Glynne Wickham, in his investigation of the use of costume in pageants, comes to the conclusion that contemporary dress was worn by historical and Biblical characters 'with the possible exception of representatives of both foreign and ancient founder races'.⁶⁸ Of course the critic is not being dogmatic on the point; moreover, he is referring to civic pageantry, sponsored by the cities, and with far more resources to devise and prepare foreign attire than the small professional companies of interlude-players.

Unfortunately, the texts of the plays contain little information about the costuming of foreign characters. One suggestion is found in Damon and Pithias: when Carisophus notices the two friends, he confides to the audience:

But soft, sirs, I pray you hush: what are they
that comes here?
By their apparel and countenance some stran-
gers they appear.
(p. 33)

This is one of the very few indications that there was a different costume for 'strangers'. One must remember, however, that the young heroes are Athenians in Syracuse. For practical reasons, only these two - and possibly their servant - had to be distinguished in some way from the other Syracusan characters who presumably, would be dressed in native contemporary clothes. Another piece of information is supplied by Jacob and Esau, in which the author determined on the title-page, 'the parts and names of the players who are to be considered to be Hebrews, and so should be apparelled with attire'. It is worth noticing that Richard Southern, who, on the basis of the woodcut figures on the title-page of

Medwall's Fulgens and Lucres defends the idea that the characters were not supposed to wear Roman dress,⁶⁹ should hold a different view about the costuming in Jacob and Esau:

the observation of the title-page is particularly interesting because it belies the school of thought which holds that all early plays were performed in ordinary contemporary clothes, and that no early players had any sense of special costume.... this reference gives a clear and additional proof that the actors of the mid-sixteenth century were not only not content to let their Bible characters go in any clothes that might be seen in their own streets but that they sought to dress Hebrews as Hebrews.⁷⁰

The problem concerning this statement is that it transforms an exception into a generalized practice. It should be noticed that, in spite of the anachronisms one encounters in the text, the author of Jacob and Esau stands out among his fellow interlude-writers by his obvious attempts to provide his foreign setting with local colour. His instruction that the players should be dressed, as Hebrews is surely part of this enterprise. It is difficult to accept that other playwrights, unconcerned with the foreignness of their settings - either unconsciously or consciously - could be particularly preoccupied with an accurate foreign costume. Therefore, despite the scarcity of evidence, it is feasible to conclude that the tendency to anglicization was furthered by the costuming of the actors, though there must have been exceptions. These exceptions are linked with the suggestion made at the beginning of this chapter that, though most foreign characters are anglicized, some, for dramatic purposes, must keep their foreignness - as in the case of the Athenians Damon and Pithias in Syracuse.

4.2 Theatrical Types

Stock theatrical types who enter the English interludes via the Roman Comedy - such as the braggart and the parasite - acclimatize

themselves very easily. This is mainly due to the Vice's great theatrical potentialities which make it easy for playwrights to reconcile his figure to the imported classical types.

The most important of these imported personages is the braggart, who provides the basis of the characterization of Thersites and Ralph Roister Doister in the interludes that bear their names. The association between the classical braggart and the English Vice has been traced by D.C. Boughner who remarks that 'the swaggering but timid ranter enters the English drama from Latin and Italian comedy, and finding a popular figure resembling himself, grows easily in the native soil'.⁷¹ The critic also includes, besides the boastful soldier (miles gloriosus), the swaggering courtier (caballarius gloriosus) as descendants of the traditional comic stereotype of the braggart.⁷² This discussion, however, will take only the former into consideration since he is much closer to the classical type than the latter.

In order to show the relationship between the braggart and the Vice one must begin with the most obvious example of the latter as a boaster of warlike prowess provided by The Four Elements. In a scene of this interlude, Sensual Appetite, breathless, imparts to Ignorance one of his 'courageous' feats:

Sensual Appetite. Gog's nails, I have paid some
of them, I trow.
Ignorance. Why, man, what aileth thee to blow?
Sensual Appetite. For I was at a shrewd fray.
Ignorance. Hast thou any of them slain, then?
Sensual Appetite. Yea, I have slain them every man;
Save them that ran away.

(p. 41)

Yet, as the dialogue progresses, the audience learns - thanks to Ignorance's pressing questions - that all of those who should have been slain escaped,

though Sensual Appetite still maintains that he has 'put some to pain', and smitten off ears and legs. Ignorance's comment - 'Then thou has quit thee like a tall knight' (p. 41) - has understandably led critics to connect the 'tall knight' of The Four Elements with that other famous Vice-like knight Falstaff.⁷³

Thersites, in spite of his acknowledged classical origin, can also claim an English line of descent through some of the Vice's warlike characteristics. The text of Thersites discloses an exaggerated treatment of the braggart type, making the grandiosely titled hero, after all his boasts, afraid of a snail - which he takes for a 'monster' (pp. 208-9) - and causing him to look for protection behind his mother's back when threatened by a soldier (pp. 211-2).

Yet, the braggart does not only boast of his military exploits, as Sensual Appetite and Thersites do; he also advertises his success with women.⁷⁴ Actually, in Plautus's The Swaggering Soldier, it is the hero's amatory pretensions rather than his false military prowess that are ridiculed. In the same way, in Ralph Roister Doister, it is mainly Ralph's self-delusion as a great lover which is exploited by the playwright - and, also, by Matthew Merrygreek, to whom Ralph confides:

I am sorry God made me so comely, doubtless;
For that maketh me each were so highly favoured,
That all women on me enamoured.
(I. 2. 106-8)

The soldier's military braggadocio is not absent from Ralph's character: he promptly agrees with Merrygreek's exaggerated praise of his valour (I. 2; I. 4. 63-85), and, like other braggarts, he is eventually humbled when beaten by Dame Christian Custance and her maids (IV. 8). Nevertheless, it is Ralph's unsuccessful courtship that makes the core of the plot.

It should be observed that, as a lover, the braggart is closer to the classical type than to the native Vice, since one of the latter's characteristics is the fact that he is an adamant misogynist. He is always indulging in jokes against the female sex and against marriage, and has never been presented as even a possible lover. It is worth remembering that, in his A Play of Love, Heywood casts the Vice as 'No-Lover-Nor-Loved'.

The assimilation of the Vice to two other classical stock theatrical types has also been recognised: 'in early Tudor times, "witty slave" and "parasite" came from the classical drama to an English stage which already knew a figure combining certain of their characteristics, and to an audience who recognized in them certain familiar features'.⁷⁵ The presence of the "witty slave" in the interludes, and his relationship with the Vice, are arguable points, and will be discussed later. Yet there is no doubt that the figure of the parasite was adopted by interlude-writers.

The parasite's function changes from play to play, and his general characteristics are harder to define than the braggart's. Thus, it will be useful to start with a definition of this personage as it exists in classical drama. According to George E. Duckworth,

the parasite is the 'funny man' par excellence of Roman comedy. Living by his wits and always on the lookout for a free meal, he is at times a professional jokester eager to amuse his prospective host, at times a 'handy man' anxious to win favor by running errands and willing to accept both insult and abuse, at times a flatterer who points up the stupidity of others by his cynical asides.⁷⁶

The first parasite one comes across in the interludes is in the list of dramatis personae of Calisto and Helibea. There are two servants in the play, Parmeno and Sempronio, but only the latter is labelled 'a parasite'. Whereas Parmeno is a good and loyal serving-man, Sempronio

is cunning and dishonest, willing to feed his master's fantasies and whims for personal profit. He is the 'handy man' described above, and his most important errand in the play is to bring the bawd Celestina to Calisto. It should be noticed that the parasite in Calisto and Melibea, is two removes from his classical prototype: he was first borrowed from Roman comedy by the author of the Spanish original,⁷⁷ and then transferred to the English interlude. He acts very similarly to the native Vice in the part he plays in the possible perdition of the heroine, in his cynical asides to the audience while listening to his master's love confession, and in his anti-feminine feelings. When Calisto tells Sempronio of his passion for Melibea, the parasite indulges in a long diatribe against women (pp. 55-7). Celestina must have warmed the hearts of her feminine audience when she narrates how she herself and Ellicaea (Sempronio's sweetheart) managed to deceive the misogynist (pp. 60-2).

The next parasite (in chronological order of supposed composition of the interludes) is Matthew Merrygreek of Ralph Roister Doister, a clever mixture of the Latin parasite and English Vice. It is worth noticing that, at first, the classical type predominates: in his initial address to the audience, Merrygreek explains his philosophy of life, and the self-interest which attaches him to Ralph:

For truly of all men he is my chief banker
Both for meat and money, and my chief
sheet-anchor.
(I. 1. 27-8)

Like his Roman counterpart, Merrygreek feeds the hero's illusions, flatters him, and is only too willing to run errands for him. Yet, the Vice's love of mischief takes over, and the intriguer is portrayed as pursuing it for its own sake rather than for personal profit. Only his conciliatory action at the end of the play - though still in keeping with his technique

of feeding Ralph's self-delusion - is quite un-Vice like; for the Vice is always an agent of discord who never brings about a celebratory ending.

The parasite in Diccon of Gammer Gurton's Needle is harder to detect; in fact, some critics like Thomas M. Parrot⁷⁸ consider him a 'thoroughly English figure'. It is true that Diccon, being a recognizable native type - the licensed beggar, discharged from the London lunatic asylum Bethlem - does not show much of the traditional parasite personality. Yet a few traits can be found: like the parasite, Diccon lives by his wits, is anxious to win favour, and thinks constantly of his belly. When introducing himself to the spectators, he mentions the drinks he has had, and the bacon he has eaten, before showing his admiration for Gammer Gurton's pantry:

Yet came my foot never within those door checks,
To seek flesh or fish, garlick, onions, or leeks,
That ever I saw a sort in such a plight
As here within this house appeareth to my sight.
(I. 1. 7-10)

Wasting no time, Diccon steals a piece of bacon to abate his Gargantuan hunger, and makes plans to drink two pots of ale. Later, he entrusts one of his big problems to the audience:

Now were he a wise man by cunning could
define
Which way my journey lieth, or where Diccon will
dine!
(II. 1. 7-8)

Like the Vice and the parasite - Sempronio, in part, and Merrygreek, entirely - Diccon mainly functions as the intriguer, the character responsible for the movement of the plot. Another aspect of his personality in which both the native and the classical types are reconciled is his intimate relationship with the audience.

The list of dramatis personae of Corboduc labels Hermon and Tyndar as 'parasites', though they can be better described as evil counsellors rather than parasites in the technical dramatic sense.⁷⁹ In spite of their official designation, both figures lack all the traits characteristically belonging to the classical type. They are sketchily drawn, merely to serve a specific function in the plot - giving ill advice to the young princes.

Richard Edwardes's Damon and Pithias presents the character Carisophus as a parasite, though he is far from fulfilling the main attributes normally ascribed to the type. He is not an amusing character, is never shown running errands for his master, or worrying about his meals. Carisophus resembles the parasite in his flattering nature, and in his willingness to accept insult and abuse. His function in the play is that of informer of the despotic Dionysius, and he starts the action properly speaking by falsely denouncing Damon to the tyrant. In this, he recalls the Vice Anbidexter in Cambises, who also acts as an informer to the King, and brings about disaster by his ability to deceive virtuous characters. The other parasites of the later interludes - Eccho in The Glass of Government and Panulo in The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune - occupy less prominent positions in the plots of their respective plays.

The 'witty slave' is far less common than the parasite, and the only example one can find in the interludes is Stephano in Damon and Pithias. He little resembles either the prototype of the 'witty slave' of classical comedy, or the native Vice. He is witty, certainly, but he uses his brains to serve both friends loyally. That the playwright wanted to make him different from the common native servants is suggested by his non-English name and his social position of slave. He is

reminiscent of his classical counterpart - and of the parasite as well - only in his preoccupation with his stomach:

To eat somewhat I pray you think it no folly;
It is high dinner time, I know by my belly
(p. 32)

and, later, he is found complaining about the insufficient 'philosophical diet' of his masters (p. 33). Yet, unlike most representatives of the classical type, Stephano belongs to that category of slaves who are trustworthy and unselfish.⁸⁰ Stephano's portrait contains traits of the personality of native servants like 'A' and 'B' in Fulgens and Lucres and Hodge in Gammer Gurton's Needle. These three are lively and resourceful, and temper their devotion with a certain insolence, arrogating to themselves the right to speak on equal terms with their master or mistress. It may, therefore, be concluded, that only the braggart and the parasite can be regarded as having found a place for themselves in the Tudor interludes.

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The foreigners of the interludes, who operate in the foreign setting of the original stories, are handled in two ways. They are either used as an oblique device of characterization, or as a means of conveying current ideas; in both cases, they are anglicized. This is particularly true of the first case, since authors encourage their audiences to look objectively at their own social representatives thinly disguised as foreigners.

To the gallery of portraits of anglicized foreigners one should also add the stock theatrical types of the braggart and the parasite,

who accommodate themselves easily in the native drama. This is due to the non-illusory conventions shared by the interludes and Roman comedy and to the fact that both types have some features in common with the English Vice.

Costume contributes considerably to the anglicization of foreign characters as it is probable that most stage foreigners would wear contemporary dress and one may well imagine how difficult it would be for an audience to identify a character as a foreigner when he looked the same as any contemporary fellow-citizen. As will be seen in the next chapter, this identification would also be facilitated by the fact that characters were allowed to break out of the dramatic situation, and relate directly to the spectators.

It must, however, be remarked that the process of anglicization was accomplished in different degrees - varying from play to play, and within a single play. In few cases, it could create a certain tension between the foreignness of the character and all the other factors which contributed to make him native. This happens in plays like Jacob and Esau and Damon and Pithias which can convey the characters' foreignness intermittently thanks to the authors' efforts to create a foreign atmosphere. On the whole, however, it seems valid to suggest that, in the interludes, foreign characters placed in foreign settings turn out to be anglicized.

5. Foreign Characters

Since most foreigners of the interludes are anglicized when treated in non-English settings, there are very few characters who can be labelled 'foreigners'. This only happens when they are placed in the English scene, and even these have to be divided into false - when foreignness is used as a disguise -, and genuine - when it is important for the dramatist to have an alien on the stage.

As has already been proposed, some interludes present the Vice as having a foreign origin, for example, Colhazard in Impatient Poverty, Nichol Newfangle in Like Will to Like, and the Vices of Wilson's London plays. Foreigners are also brought into the interludes by reference, that is, when they are alluded to by English characters without actually being present. For instance, the Tenant of Enough Is as Good as a Feast makes foreigners responsible for the shortage of houses (ll. 985-8), a complaint reinforced by the Artificer in The Pedlar's Prophecy (ll. 877-80). In the latter play foreigners are regarded as objectionable on other grounds as well:

Yea either they be Alians, or Aliant sonnes indeed,
Who through marriage of English women of late,
Hath altered the true English blood and seed
And therewithall English plaine maners and good state,
All the naughtie fashions in the world at this day,
Are by some meanes brought into England.
(ll. 341-6)

Thus, with some Vices illustrating the idea that evil comes from abroad, and Englishmen voicing so many grievances against foreigners, it is hardly surprising that when these characters actually appear on the stage - whether false or genuine - their characterization should be coloured by xenophobia.

5.1 False Foreigners

The Vice as a genuine foreigner has already been dealt with; the concern of this section is to investigate his use of foreignness as a disguise. Although not all interlude-characters disguised as foreigners⁸¹ are evil, this device is particularly associated with the Vice since it is one of his many tricks.

In Wealth and Health, Ill Wit pretends to be a Spaniard in order to escape from Good Remedy's hands, and subsequent punishment (pp. 303-5). This disguise has been considered as one of the proofs that the play, though essentially Catholic, was modified to suit Queen Elizabeth's Protestantism: 'an identification of a Vice with a Spaniard would be entirely appropriate to a play, performed even at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, for as early as 1557, Spaniards had become thoroughly unpopular in England'.⁸² For the sake of the present discussion, the relevant point in this statement is the possibility of the disguise functioning as a xenophobic attack.

In The Trial of Treasure, Inclination tries to pass for a Frenchman and, that failing, for a Fleming, to avoid being bridled by Sapience and Just (p. 221). In Misogonus, the Vice-like Cacurgus, under the disguise of an Egyptian doctor, tries to prevent the two gossips Isbell and Madge from bearing true witness that Misogonus is not the elder child (III. 3). Another who feigns to be a foreign doctor is Idleness in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom. After giving the audience a demonstration of how he can play 'the outlandish man',

Ah! by Got! Me be the Doctor! Me am the fine
knave, I tell ye,
Me have the good medicine for the maiden's
belly!
Me have the excellent medicine for the blains
and blister!
(ll. 259-61)

he explains the reasons for his disguise:

How like you this, my masters?
The bee have no so many herbs whereout
to suck honey,
As I can find shifts whereby to get money.
(11. 263-5)

Finally, Fraud, in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London, though said to be half French and half Scots (p. 456), disguises himself as a French artificer to cheat Simplicity out of his money (pp. 438-9).

It can be deduced from the examples above that the assumption of a foreign personality by the Vice is intimately connected with one of his major characteristics - deceit. His foreign disguise, like his change of name, is mainly used to deceive people: either to escape punishment, or to earn money, or to further his own vicious ends. Thus, by identifying the Vice with foreigners - even if briefly - authors are subtly giving vent to their anti-foreign sentiments.

5.2 Genuine Foreigners

After the Reformation, the Pope became a focus for anti-foreign feelings in England, at first only as far as militant Protestants were concerned, but as Catholicism lost ground, particularly after the atrocities of Mary's reign, the unpopularity of the Papacy became general. Furthermore, when in February of 1570 the Pope excommunicated the already popular Queen, he asked English Catholics to choose between

religion and nationalism, and many preferred the latter:

adherence to the queen meant denial of the bull and the papacy; obedience to Rome meant rejection of Elizabeth and active or passive treason. Most Englishmen, even those who still cherished the old faith, chose the side of the state, seizing eagerly on the technical shortcomings of the bull to save their consciences or taking the step over to the national Church.⁸³

Bale is, of course, one of the most vociferous enemies of the Papacy, which he attacks violently. These attacks culminate in King John (1538), in which he actually puts Pope Innocent III on the stage. The scene - which takes place in Rome - focusses on King John's excommunication, and is a dramatic anticipation of the real action of Pius V against Elizabeth in 1570:⁸⁴

Say this to them also: Pope Innocent the Third
Remission of sins to so many men hath granted
As will do their best to slay him if they may
(p. 36)

This is the only time the Pope appears in the interludes although he is alluded to either by the Vice or by the Devil himself. In King Darius, Iniquity claims to be the Pope's son (p. 67), whereas Satan in The Conflict of Conscience affirms that the Pope is his own son:

....the Pope, who is my darling dear,
My eldest Boy, in whom I do delight,
(ll. 84-5)

And Simony, in The Three Ladies of London, remembers the happy days when he was in Rome, and England sent great amounts of money to the Pope:

And that this little island was more worth to the
Pope
Than three bigger realms which had a great
deal more scope;
(p. 271)

Among the other genuine foreigners of the interludes are the Flemings. They are generally represented by low-class characters: Hance is a cannoneer in Wealth and Health, and another Hance and Philip Fleming are servants in Like Will to Like. In the first interlude, Hance - occasionally called War - is portrayed as a drunkard looking for a job as a cannoneer in England. Both the Vices (Ill Will and Shrewd Wit) and the Virtue (Good Remedy) maltreat Hance equally. He is made laughable through his drunkenness and his foreign accent. His function in the play is twofold: behind 'the allegorical significance of Hans, who as Flemish War causes the dissipation of English Wealth, there lies a more general satire upon the pushing and deceitful alien, - a class excessively hated during the entire Tudor period.'⁸⁵

If the two Flemings of Like Will to Like, only Hance is fully characterized. Philip Fleming is a mere presence, and the author's lack of interest in him is shown by the fact that - unlike Hance - he is not made to speak with a foreign accent. His functions are simply to help Hance leave the stage, and reinforce the other's grotesque appearance, for both are portrayed as big-bellied men. This duplication of grotesquerie serves to convey the impression that all Flemings are like the two on the stage. Hance, like his counterpart in Wealth and Health, enters the scene singing. His drunkenness is obvious, and he is made to look and behave as ridiculously as possible. Besides being drunk, he speaks with a 'Dutch' accent, and, according to the stage direction, 'as stammeringly as may be' (before l. 449). He has a big paunch which Nichol Newfangle keeps referring to (l. 474, l. 489, l. 492, l. 498 and l. 506). The author goes out of his way to make the Fleming grotesque, for another stage direction reads: 'He danceth as evil-favoured as may be devised

and in the dancing he falleth down, and when he riseth he must groan' (before l. 496). And, further on, after his performance, the author also instructs: 'Hance sitteth in the chair, and snorteth as though he were fast asleep' (before l. 513). Hance's ludicrous appearance is emphasized to the extent that his role as one of Tossplot's victims is obscured. This is only hinted at when Tossplot boasts about Hance's corruption:

I knew Hance when he was as he saith,
For he was once a scholar in good faith;
But through my company he was withdrawn from thence,
Through his riot and excessive expense,
Unto this trade, which now you do in him see,
So that now he is wholly addicted to follow me;
And one of my guard he is now become.
(ll. 480-6)

Furthermore, whereas the other evildoers are seen as paying for their sins, Nichol Newfangle simply narrates the bad end of the two Flemings in a 'spital house' (ll. 1188-95). Hance and Philip, having served the playwright's satirical purposes, are quickly discarded.

Mercatore in The Three Ladies of London is one of the many evil foreigners of the play - the others are the Vices. He is the dishonest Italian merchant who exports vital English commodities and imports unnecessary ones with the approval of the greedy members of the Commonwealth (pp. 304-50), and the embodiment of the current opinion that much of international trade was contrary to England's interests.⁸⁶ Mercatore is also responsible for the poor people's housing problem since he proposes to Lady Lucre to rent her houses only to 'strangers', who are glad

To dwell in a little room, and to pay much rent:
For you know da Frenchmans and Flemings in
dis country be many,
So dat they make shift to dwell ten houses in one
very gladly;
And be content a for pay fifty or threescore
pound a year
For dat which da Englishmans say twenty
mark is too dear.
(pp. 305-6)

The author thus not only accentuates the wickedness of Mercatore's nature, but also widens the scope of his xenophobic attack by including the French and the Flemings.

The three Spanish lords and their pages ally themselves with the foreign Vices against the Londoners of The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London. The lords are significantly called Pride, Ambition, and Tyranny, and their pages, Shame, Treachery, and Terror. After defeating them, Policy, one of the three Lords of London, lets the audience know the false names which they bore:

The Pride of Spain was cloak'd with majesty,
And Shame, his page, nicknamed Modesty:
Spanish Ambition, Honour would be call'd,
And Treachery, his page, term'd Action:
Their Tyranny was cleped Government;
Terror, his page, was falsely nam'd Regard;
(p. 477)

The author associates the Spaniards with the Vices by suggesting that, like the latter, they put on false names and appearances, moreover, the ugly portrait of the foreigners is underlined by their boastful natures and exaggerated pride.

The only good foreigners who emerge from a reading of the interludes are, surprisingly enough, a Turk and a Jew. So far the characters treated

as 'genuine foreigners' have been those who interact and contrast with Englishmen in the native scene; nevertheless, as has been seen in the previous chapter, the action of Wilson's play twice shifts to Turkey when the Jew and the Turk appear. It seems appropriate, however, to deal with these two characters in this section for two reasons: first, because the main setting of the play is London/England; second, because the two aliens are not anglicized as their foreignness serves the author's dramatic purposes. The Turk is portrayed as an upright judge and the Jew Gerontus as a good usurer: this is a unique case in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English drama which abounds in treacherous Turks and wicked Jews. Wilson's obvious intention is to compare the behaviour of the Christian - willing to change his religion to avoid payment to the Jew - with that of the infidel - ready to forgive the debt to prevent the Christian's damnation - in order to point out the degree of the former's spiritual decadence:

One may judge and speak truth, as appears by this;
Jews seek to excel in Christianity and Christians
in Jewishness.
(p. 357)

This conclusion, however, though unflattering to Christians, also betrays Wilson's xenophobia, since he uses Christianity and Jewishness as synonyms for good and evil respectively. Furthermore, one must remember that in his second London play, the author gives Jewish parents to the Vice Usury (p. 457).

As in the case of the anglicized foreigners, the texts yield very little information about the costuming of either false or genuine foreigners. In The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, for instance, Idleness describes

In the same way that a few moral abstractions maintain their allegorical nature, some foreign characters remain so, and have their foreignness contrasted with the Englishness of the social environment in which they are placed. There are, however, very few foreigners - properly speaking - in the interludes, and their unflattering characterization reflects the prejudices that Tudor Englishmen bore against them on several grounds: religious, social, political, and economic. One way of showing anti-foreign feeling is through the Vice: he is either made a foreigner or associated with foreigners by means of disguise; another is to present unpleasant images of citizens of unpopular nationalities. It is only great moral indignation at Christian behaviour that prompts a playwright like Wilson to project a good image of foreign misbelievers.

Unlike the anglicized foreigners, who were to be regarded as natives, it was necessary for playwrights to make their false and genuine foreigners stand out as such. As costume apparently was no help, but most aliens portrayed spoke either a foreign language or English with an accent, it seems clear that language - as will be discussed in the next chapter - was the principal device employed by playwrights to distinguish the foreign from the native characters on the stage.

6. Eclecticism in Characterization

The basic mixture of serious and comic characters in most interludes results from the authorial technique of providing audiences with both 'sentence' and 'solace'. Yet, as the writers start looking for inspiration in other sources such as the Bible, history, legend and romance, the tendency is to accumulate characters of different traditions within a single play. Thus, besides the usual presence of serious and

comic figures, one comes across a group of diversified characters all belonging to the same list of dramatis personae.

One might be led to think that, since most interludes were written for professional itinerant companies, the diversification of characters would be limited by the small number of players. Owing to the development of the technique of doubling, however, the problem of dealing with many characters was solved,⁸⁹ and interlude-writers felt free to be as inclusive as possible in the handling of characterization. Of course playwrights in other countries also mixed serious and comic characters, abstractions with social types, native with Biblical or historical figures. What makes the medley of characters a typically English phenomenon is the frequency of its practice and the range of its inclusiveness.

Even allowing for the usual combination of seriousness and mirth, the interludes which contain homogeneous lists of dramatis personae are very few. Among those which have only purely allegorical characters one finds Youth, Magnificence, New Custom, The Trial of Treasure, and two of the three 'Wit' plays - Wit and Science and The Marriage of Wit and Science. Bale's plays - God's Promises, The Resurrection of Our Lord, and John the Baptist - and the anonymous Jacob and Esau are the only ones which keep a homogeneous Hebrew cast. Some of the farcical interludes, such as John Heywood's The Four PP, The Pardoner and the Friar, and Johan Johan, and others like Gammer Gurton's Needle and Ralph Roister Doister, which restrict themselves to portraying human types, also reject heterogeneity of characters. The only exception in this group is Tom Tyler and His Wife, which has Destiny, Desire, and Patience in its cast.

With these few exceptions, from the beginning most interlude-writers mixed their characters. In the early moral-religious interludes in which authors are not influenced by foreign stories and invent their own plots, one sees them juxtaposing serious and comic characters, abstractions and universalized types. For example, in The Pride of Life, the author puts abstractions like Life, Strength, Health, and Death side by side with types like the Queen and the Bishop; in Mankind, abstractions (Mercy and Mischief), a universalized type (Mankind), social types (Nought, Nowadays, and New Guise) all interact with a figure of the Christian Mythos (the devil, Titivillus); The Four Elements permits a social type like the Taverner to impinge upon an otherwise completely allegorical cast.

This combination of varied types of characters is, obviously, also found in the early interludes inspired by foreign sources. Whereas Calisto and Melibea sticks to the homogeneous cast of the original, this is not the rule. Fulgens and Lucres presents the native servants 'A', 'B', and Joan living in the world of patricians and plebeians of imperial Rome. The Biblical John, a character called Eugenio, and the Vice Evil Counsel are all together in John the Evangelist. Both Biblical characters and abstractions people the settings of Godly Queen Hester and Three Laws. And King John presents historical figures interchangeable with personified abstractions.

As the borrowing of foreign stories increases in the second half of the century, so does the eclecticism in the handling of characterization. Mythological gods and goddesses (like Jupiter in the early The Play of the Weather) mix with personified abstractions in Respublica, and with human figures in The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune, and The Cobbler's Prophecy.

In Patient Grissell and Appius and Virginia the authors juxtapose legendary characters with abstractions. Clyomon and Clamydes allows kings, queens, knights and princesses to interact with the Vice, Providence, and the shepherd Corin. In The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality, goddesses, abstractions, and social types are all set side by side. In All for Money, the huge cast comprises abstractions, social types, and Biblical characters.

Yet the most inclusive of all lists of dramatis personae are to be found in Thomas Preston's Cambises and John Pickering's Horestes. In the former, historical Persians interact with the Vice Ambidexter, personified abstractions like Shame, Commons' Cry and Commons' Complaint, English rustics like Hob, Lob, and Marian-May-Be-Good, and mythological figures like Venus and Cupid. In the latter, mythical Greeks like Horestes and Clytemnestra move in the same world as the Vice, Fame, Truth and Duty, and the native characters Haultersicke, Hempstringe, Hodge and Rusticus.

Criticicism reacts differently to the juxtaposition of diversified types of characters on the same stage. For Anne Richter, 'most of these gallimaufries evidence little skill in the blending. The traditions which they assemble remain essentially, often disturbingly, distinct. Main plot and sub-plots seem tenuously connected; classical characters and morality abstractions mingle with one another stiffly or not at all'.⁹⁰

Bernard Spivack, who calls such types of interludes 'hybrid', and sees their attempt to bring together uncongenial elements as temporary, admits, however, that there is an underlying synthesis in them. In his view, these plays

cling to a tradition that uses the stage primarily for moral exposition, and only incidentally for literal representation, and in all of them the unifying principle is homiletic rather than dramatic. Such a standard and such a sense of unity make it easy for them to tolerate the intimate association between the abstract and the concrete, the figurative and the literal.⁹¹

He also suggests that the paradox is apparent nowadays because one can look at these interludes with the advantage of four centuries of perspective; to their contemporary audiences, the mixture of traditions would present no paradox at all for 'their conscious standards were still fixed upon the old while they were being invaded imperceptibly by the spirit of the new'.⁹²

J.L. Styan disagrees with Anne Richter, and agrees partially with Bernard Spivack, though offering different reasons:

non-illusory theatre is the kind that positively encouraged the notoriously English practice of mixing, and sometimes synthesizing, dramatic genres and elements who seem to belong on different stages. Plays like Thomas Preston's Cambises.... are usually spoken of snidely as 'transitional' when the critic gropes towards a pseudo-historicism. They are at the centre of the non-illusory tradition and account for that ranging quality in English drama by which Falstaff can appear in the same play with Prince Hal.⁹³

The right attitude seems to be the one adopted by the last critic. Anne Richter is too radical when she denies these interludes any sort of unity. Bernard Spivack proposes a unifying principle but on the grounds that it is 'homiletic rather than dramatic'. Yet, as J.L. Styan points out, their unity was achieved only because of the possibilities that the non-illusory tradition provided for playwrights. It allowed them not only to take liberties with time, place, and costume, but also with the handling of characterization. In the popular theatre the most disparate elements are set side by side, and their unifying principle is that of

diversity; for it is only in the luxury of the literary theatre that 'everything can be all of a piece'.⁹⁴ To the audiences of the interludes, as Spivack has proposed, the paradox would probably not exist at all. The reason for it is not because 'their standards were still fixed upon the old' and would not perceive the new; but because these audiences were used to the popular dramatic conventions of mixture and diversity. Furthermore, since most characters were English or portrayed to look English, and dressed in contemporary clothes, there was less heterogeneity in contemporary performance than would appear to the modern reader.

*

The handling of characterization in the interludes, like the choice and treatment of themes, plots and settings is usually in accordance with the playwrights' didactic view of art. The characters, besides being the interpreters of the moral lesson and conveyors of models of behaviour are also purveyors of critical images of English men and women of the time. Though this portraiture comprises representatives of most social classes, commoners are often found as the chief characters of the interludes - a fact which distinguishes them from the early Elizabethan drama, with its predominantly aristocratic protagonists.

Whereas the theme and the setting determine that some characters be unmistakably English, other non-English characters are anglicized despite the apparent demands of the story and its fictive locale. This process of anglicization - already seen at work in the previous chapter - is facilitated by the dramatic conventions and conditions of performance of the interludes.

As has been proposed, there is no chronological development as far

as allegorical characters and social types are concerned: not only do they exist in the same play, but often the former are transformed into the latter, and in the process are made English as well. There are, however, some personified abstractions which keep their allegorical nature. Most members of the Commonwealth are depicted in the interludes, though some social types are recurrent. They provide a vast gallery of portraits - some favourable, others hostile, others simply farcical - of contemporary society.

The kings, queens, and high-class figures portrayed in the interludes are mostly foreigners. Nevertheless, when these foreign characters are placed in the foreign settings of their stories they are generally anglicized. It is only when the foreigner is shown in an English social context that his foreignness is presented, being chiefly manipulated as a means through which playwrights vent their xenophobic feelings.

Interlude-writers make the mixing of heterogeneous characters on the same stage something of a tradition carried over to the Elizabethan drama. Whereas some critics maintain that these characters never really mix, others persuasively argue that the juxtaposition of characters is at the heart of the popular theatrical conventions.

In their treatment of characters, dramatists once more apply the technique of interpreting the unknown by the known and the foreign by the native. This is reflected in the use of contemporary costume for most characters, which contributed to the anglicization of allegorical and foreign ones. It must be remembered, however, that playwrights sometimes made use of other costumes prompted by dramatic requirements. As far as the costuming of foreigners is concerned, the scanty information available

makes it feasible to suppose that the characters' foreign language or accent was usually the only signal that permitted the audience to identify them as foreigners.

As has been suggested in the previous chapter, and underlined in the present one, whereas most characters depend on the other components of drama to be defined as native or foreign, the Vices and low-life characters are essentially English, regardless of the setting they belong to. This is mainly due to their twofold theatrical nature, which allows them to participate simultaneously in the fictitious world of the play and the real world of the spectators, with whom they establish a close relationship. This intimacy - which contributes a great deal to their Englishness - is mainly achieved through language. Thus, as will be discussed in the next chapter, when Ignorancy shouts that he was born in 'England', and 'B' protests that he is talking about Romans, they are teasingly encouraging the audience into a mood of participation which is vital for the dramatic significance of the interludes.

Notes to Chapter III

1. Hardin Craig, The Enchanted Glass (first published, 1935; reprinted, 1952), pp. 231-2.
2. Early English Stages: 1300-1660, 2 vols (London, 1959-1972), II. pt. I, vii.
3. V.A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford, 1971), p. 106.
4. See Kolve, p. 106; Theodore Komisarjevski, The Costume of the Theatre (first published, 1932; reprinted, New York, 1968), p. 61; and Stella Mary Newton, Renaissance Theatre and the Sense of the Historic Past (London, 1975), p. 60. This idea is reinforced by Wickham's conclusion that contemporary fashion formed the basis of all costuming in the pageant theatres throughout their history (see Wickham, I, 103). Of course varying degrees of contemporaneity must be allowed, even though historical verisimilitude is not involved (see Wickham, I, 108-9); also it must be taken into account that some characters - chiefly the main ones - had to be distinguished from others by costume (see Kolve, p. 106). The doubts still remaining on the subject are due to the scanty documentary records of methods of production in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the rarity of pictorial representations of theatrical costume, particularly in England (see Newton, pp. 23-5).
5. See M.D. Anderson, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches (Cambridge, 1963), p. 161.
6. Kolve, p. 106.
7. Komisarjevski, p. 68.
8. The Tudor Interlude (first published, 1958; reprinted, Leicester, 1967), p. 49.
9. Craik, pp. 49-72.
10. They are also called Might and Force, or Strength and Violence, according to the different translations of the play.
11. Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (first published, 1958; reprinted, New York and London, 1968), p. 60. Hardin Craig disagrees with the idea that the Paternoster plays are moralities. For him, they are 'a group of miracle or saints' plays clearly and ingeniously connected with the Paternoster theme'; yet, about this theory he himself recognizes 'its speculative character and the tenuous nature of the evidence that supports it'. See 'Morality Plays and Elizabethan Drama', Shakespeare Quarterly, 1 (1950), 64-72 (p. 66).
12. Spivack, p. 60.
13. In the Digby mystery play of Mary Magdalene (c. 1480-1520), there are two Vices called Sensuality and Curiosity respectively; and, in the second version of the Norwich play of Adam and Eve (first mentioned in 1478) there are introduced the figures of Dolor and Miserie.

4. Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, revised edition (Oxford, 1966), p. 87.
5. Stanley J. Kahrl, Traditions of Medieval English Drama (London, 1974) p. 104.
6. F.P. Wilson, The English Drama: 1485-1585, edited with a bibliography by G.K. Hunter (Oxford, 1969), p. 75. It must be added, however, that Wilson's reference to 'appropriate costumes' implies nothing to contradict the notion of anachronism of dress; in fact, it rather reinforces it, for one may assume that the personified abstractions would have been clothed in contemporary costume, depending on the playwright's purpose. As for the power of the living voice it can be attested by the treatment of the interludes as radio drama in The First Stage: a Chronicle of Developments of English Drama from Its Beginnings to the 1580s, broadcast in thirteen parts from November 18th, 1956 by the British Broadcasting Corporation, written and narrated by John Barton, produced by Raymond Raikes (London, The British Institute of Recorded Sound, 1979), programmes VI-X.
17. Craik, p. 54, states that 'in France, where most abstract nouns are of feminine gender, it was usual to represent the virtues as women. But apart from the Four Daughters of God in Respublica and Chastitie and Veritie in Ane Satyre of the thrie Estaitis...the interludes normally present them as men'. This statement, though generally correct, needs to be qualified, for there are more feminine Virtues in the interludes than the critic allows. For example, in The Castle of Perseverance not only the Four Daughters of God but also the Seven moral Virtues are women; in Everyman, Good Deeds, Knowledge, and Beauty are feminine; in Nature, the author was uncertain about Innocency's sex: on p. 57 and p. 59, the character is addressed as 'woman' and 'sister' respectively; on pp. 63-4, Innocency is referred to as 'he', a 'man' and a 'boy'; Trust is a lady in The Trial of Treasure, and so is Virtue in The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality; Love and Conscience are two of the three feminine leading characters in The Three Ladies of London and its sequel The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London. To this list may be added such humanistic Virtues as Experience, Confidence, and Honest Recreation in Wit and Science, Experience and Recreation in The Marriage of Wit and Science, and Wisdom in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom. These feminine Virtues may have been influenced by the treatment of the Virtues in the sermons. Owst, p. 87, discussing the realism of sermon portraiture, and the tendency to identify topic with illustration, says that 'the Virtues appeared in the guise of noble women of the times'.
18. This change of sex by the Virtues occurs particularly in the humanistic educational tracts: Honest Recreation is a woman in Wit and Science and The Marriage of Wit and Science, and a man in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom; Experience, a woman in the first two plays, is portrayed as a man in The Four Elements.
19. Spivack, p. 178.
20. For the character's theological origins, and the difference between 'Vices' and 'the Vice', see Spivack, pp. 130-50.

21. For the Vice's indebtedness to the folk tradition, see Francis H. Mares, 'The Origin of the Figure Called "the Vice" in Tudor Drama, The Huntington Library Quarterly, 22 (1958), 11-29; see also Robert Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, edited by Robert Schwartz, (Baltimore and London, 1966), pp. 112-60. It must be observed that, although stressing the traits of the popular dramatic tradition incorporated into the figure of the Vice, Weimann, unlike Mares, does not deny the character's homiletic sources like the Psychomachia, traditions of allegory like the Seven Deadly Sins and contemporary sermons: 'these sources have great resonance and an undoubtedly important effect on the Vice, which at times can be stronger than the popular heritage of late ritual expression emphasized in the present context' (p. 154).
22. Weimann, pp. 153-4.
23. Other examples may be provided by Ignorance, portrayed as a man in The Four Elements, Wit and Science, The Marriage of Wit and Science, New Custom, and Enough Is as Good as a Feast, and, though absent from The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom is referred to as a woman by Idleness: '...my mother, Ignorance, sent me hither' (l. 106). In the same way, Lechery, who is a woman in The Castle of Perceverance and Youth, is referred to as a man by Folly in The World and the Child: '...there I found my brother Lechery' (l. 595). Also, Hypocrisy is an old woman in New Custom, and a man in Lusty Juventus and The Conflict of Conscience; and Fancy is a woman in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, and a man in Magnificence.
24. Other references to prostitutes in the play are to 'Meg and Bess' (l. 872), 'Joan' (l. 921 and l. 1431), and 'Jill' (l. 937).
25. Ann Wierum, '"Actors" and "Play-Acting" in the Morality Tradition', Renaissance Drama, n.s., 3 (1970), 189-214 (p. 211).
26. Thora Balslev Blatt, The Plays of John Bale (Copenhagen, 1968), p. 111. Of course the reminder in the stage directions is for the benefit of the reader not the spectator.
27. This portrayal is the basis of Mares's theory that the Vice comes into the Tudor interludes through the figure of the fool of folk-plays and Christmas entertainments.
28. The Braggart in Renaissance Comedy (Minneapolis, 1954), p. 148; for the contrary view see Victor Bourgy, Le bouffon sur la scene anglaise au 16^e siecle (Paris, 1969), p. 47, and Spivack, p. 257.
29. Tudor Drama and Politics (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 66.
30. This idea is expounded by Fortune, in Thomas Dekker's Old Fortunatus, still influenced by the interludes' didactic tradition:

...approve that English, French, and Scot,
And all the world else, kneel and honour Vice.
(V. 2. 312-3)

31. See Mares, p. 19, and Weimann, p. 121 for the idea that the Vices' 'travel theme' recalls the well-travelled doctor of the folk plays.
32. Bourgy, p. 210.
33. See Herbert Lindenberger, Historical Drama (Chicago and London, 1975), p. 48, who says: 'although one's speculations could go on endlessly in an issue of this sort, I might add that women, like children, have traditionally provided natural symbols for dramatic situations which demand that the audience feel outraged by wronged innocence'.
34. Stephen Gosson, Plays Confuted in Five Actions (London, n.d. [c. 1582-7]), sig. D2, tells us the reasons which led the author of London against the Three Ladies to write his play, but he does not inform us about its contents.
35. Craik, p. 49.
36. Glynne Wickham, 'Medieval Comic Traditions and the Beginnings of English Comedy', in Comic Drama, edited by W.D. Howarth (London, 1978), pp. 40-62 (p. 57).
37. Kahr1, p. 104.
38. English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1955), p. 352 and p. 353.
39. 'Repertory of Medieval French Allegorical Plays', Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama, 12 (1969), 107-32; 13, 14 (1970-1971), 279-302.
40. Weld, pp. 129-30 L'omme pecheur tells the story of the spiritual progress of 'l'Adolescent' (later 'le Pecheur') from sin to salvation (p. 130); in Le Gouuent d'Humanite by Jean d'Abondance, 'Humanite' is tempted into a life of sin, seized by 'Justice Divine' and saved from damnation thanks to the intervention of 'Misericorde' (p. 129). There is also a bifurcation of the Mankind figure in L'Homme juste et l'Homme mondain (1508), which contrasts the spiritual careers of the two leading personages (p. 130).
41. David Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 117.
42. Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, p. 93.
43. The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory (Boston, 1914), p. 9.
44. Richard Axton, 'Folk Play in Tudor Interludes', in English Drama: Forms and Developments, edited by Marie Axton and Raymond Williams (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 1-23 (p. 8).
45. Robert Potter, The English Morality Play (London and Boston, 1975), p. 68.
46. See note by R. Mark Benbow, in his edition of the play (London, 1968), p. 13.

47. Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition (London, 1944), p. 97.
48. Endeavors of Art (first published, 1954; reprinted, Madison and London, 1972), p. 228.
49. Bethell, p. 79.
50. Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe, p. 123.
51. A.W. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, revised edition, 3 vols (London, 1899), I, 111.
52. Elizabeth B. Hurlock, The Psychology of Dress (first published, 1929; reprinted, New York, 1976), pp. 200-1.
53. A topical reference to the sumptuary law which determined men's obedience to their social degree by the use of appropriate costume is found in Godly Queen Hester, when Pride complains against Aman's love of clothes:

And any man in the town do buy him a good gown,
He is very wroth;
And will him straight tell, the statute of apparel
Shall teach him good:
Wherefore, by this day, I dare not go gay;
Threadbare is my hood.

(p. 262)

It is also worth noticing that in the fragmentary The Cruel Debtor, one of the sins King Basileus accuses Ophiletis of is the non-observance of degree in dress: 'Beyond thy degree thou dydest excede in aray' (l. 197).

54. Facsimile edition (Amsterdam and New York, 1970), folium xxi.
55. James Laver, Clothes (London, 1952) p. 74 and pp. 79-80.
56. Craik, p. 57.
57. For the idea that he is also a puritan, see Mary G.M. Adkins, 'The Genesis of Dramatic Satire against the Puritan, as Illustrated in A Knack to Know a Knave', Review of English Studies, 22 (1946), 81-95.
58. See Louis B. Wright, 'Social Aspects of Some Belated Moralities', Anglia, 54 (1930), 107-48 (p. 129).
59. Craik, p. 62.
60. M.C. Bradbrook, The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy, revised edition (London, 1973), p. 249, Note 8.
61. C.F. Tucker Brooke and Mathias A. Shaaber, A Literary History of England, edited by A.C. Baugh, second edition, 4 vols (London, 1967), II, 451.
62. Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (first published, 1935; reprinted, Ithaca, 1958), p. 466.

63. See Owst, p. 492.
64. English Moral Interludes, edited by Glynne Wickham (London, 1976), pp. 204-9.
65. According to Brooke and Shaafer, p. 448, 'she combines, not unengagingly, an acute sensitiveness about social proprieties and the discipline of servants with a prompt efficiency in boxing the ears of unwise suitors'. Less convincingly, Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, pp. 123-4, argues that Christian's victory over Roister Doister is...not one of Amazonian "maistry" - for Christian is loyally subservient to Gawin's proper masculine authority - but an assertion of the feminine values of concord, domesticity, and forbearance...!
66. The Triumph of Realism in Elizabethan Drama: 1558-1612 (first published, 1916; reprinted, New York, 1965), p. 5.
67. Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, p. 51, notices that the garments of Publius Cornelius correspond in minute detail with those of Pride in Nature.
68. Early English Stages, I, 103.
69. The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare (London, 1973) pp. 95-8; for a confirmation of Southern's view see Robert Mullally, 'The Source of the Fulgens Woodcut', Theatre Notebook, 30 (1976), 61-5.
70. The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare, p. 363.
71. The Braggart in Renaissance Comedy, p. 177.
72. Boughner, p. 154.
73. See Boughner, pp. 152-3, and Spivack, pp. 88-9.
74. George E. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy. A Study in Popular Entertainment (Princeton, 1952), p. 264.
75. Robert Withington, '"Vice" and "Parasite". A Note on the Evolution of the Elizabethan Villain', PMLA, 49 (1934) 743-51 (p. 743).
76. The Nature of Roman Comedy, p. 265.
77. Duckworth, p. 409, note 49.
78. Shakespearean Comedy (New York, 1949), p. 40.
79. Withington, p. 743.
80. Duckworth, p. 252.
81. For example, Bomelio in The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune disguises himself as a foreign doctor to help his son; and, in A Knack to Know a Knave, Honesty pretends to be a Welshman in Saxon England to get hold of a coney-catcher.

82. Rainer Pineas, 'The Revision of Wealth and Health', Philological Quarterly, 44 (1965), 560-2 (p. 561). The idea that the play is a Marian interlude had already been proposed by T.W. Craik, 'The Political Interpretation of Two Tudor Interludes: Temperance and Humility and Wealth and Health,' Review of English Studies, n.s., 4 (1953), 98-108.
83. G.R. Elton, England under the Tudors, second edition (London, 1957), p. 304.
84. Elton, pp. 303-4.
85. C.F. Tucker Brooke, The Tudor Drama (Cambridge, Mass., 1911), p. 107.
86. Wright, 'Social Aspects of Some Belated Moralities', pp. 130-2.
87. About the changes of costume by Idleness in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, Craik, The Tudor Interlude, p. 90, says that he 'dresses successively as a foreign doctor, a lame rat-catcher, and a priest'. Yet there is no indication in the text concerning the foreignness of the doctor's clothes. n/
88. Early Plays from the Italian, p. 319. About the Vice's usual costume there is no agreement among scholars. For instance, Komisarjevski, The Costume of the Theatre, p. 67, says that Vice 'was attired as a fool, and carried a long wooden switch or sword'; Mares, 'The Origin of the Figure Called "the Vice"', p. 15, also defends the idea that 'the dress of the Vice was not unlike that of the domestic fool, and he carried a wooden sword or dagger'; on the other hand, Craik, The Tudor Interlude, p. 69, maintains that 'it is surprising that scarcely anything is known of the dress of a character who in different forms appears in most moral interludes, but that is the case'; as for the wooden dagger, he states that it is given to some Vices 'because it can be turned to comic use, not because it is their necessary and peculiar appurtenance' (p. 71).
89. Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe, p. 116.
90. Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 50.
91. Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, p. 277.
92. Spivack, p. 277.
93. Drama, Stage and Audience (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 182-3.
94. Peter Brook, The Empty Space (London, 1968), p. 66.

CHAPTER IV

THE DRAMATIC USES OF LANGUAGE

This work with rhetoric is not adorned,
For perhaps in this matter much eloquence
should make it tedious or hurt the sentence.
(The Messenger in The Four Elements)

Aware, fellows! and stand-a-room!
How say you? Am not I a goodly person?
I trow you know not such a guest.
What, sirs! I tell you my name is Freewill.
(Hickscorner)

On the one hand, it seems obvious that any discussion of the Englishness of the interludes should touch on the subject of language: after all, they were written in English. On the other hand, once this fact is acknowledged, there appears to be little scope for discussion in that. Yet, the idea of Englishness includes the special appeal these plays must have had for their contemporary audience on the basis of the vividness and immediacy of the presentation of their themes and characters on the stage. As their language is greatly responsible for these theatrical qualities, this chapter aims to look at that language as dramatic speech, and to investigate the ways in which interlude-writers manipulated the resources English provided them with to achieve their purposes - to communicate their ideas to and elicit a response from their Tudor spectators.

Modern criticism has been gradually erasing the label 'dull' long attached to the interludes by reminding us that they are plays to be performed and not read. Nevertheless, as the theatrical qualities of the interludes come to light, making them acceptable on dramatic grounds, their language is still often severely judged on purely literary criteria.¹ The rich but unsophisticated prosody

of the interludes has long been criticized for its monotony and 'doggerel' verses.² Moreover, their authors' poor poetical imagination, with its lack of pictorial metaphors and absence of unsophisticated conceits, attracts the attention of the critics. F.P. Wilson, for example, writes that 'a late Elizabethan poet thinks in images, but these Edwardian, Marian and early Elizabethan writers rarely hazard a metaphor. Perhaps we ought to take them at their word and believe that they were not trying to be poetical'.³ And, Glynne Wickham, an enthusiast for the interludes as vehicles for actors, sees as a failure 'the relative poverty' of their language considered as poetry when compared to the best of earlier Middle English or to later Elizabethan drama'.⁴

It seems unfair to estimate the language of these sixteenth-century plays by the standards of 'the best of earlier Middle English' or 'later Elizabethan drama'. It also seems unfair to condemn interlude-writers for failure to achieve aims they never had. For they were not actually trying to be poetical. As has been noticed,

those who produced the interludes....did not for a moment think to write poetry. They were writing living drama which was to be acted, spoken, heard, and received; the form in which this drama was cast was, as if by accident, that of verse. The form of the drama coincided with that of verse; there was no further rapprochement, certainly no wedding of poetic thought to poetic form.⁵

It must also be remembered that, with very few exceptions (Skelton is the obvious example), no 'real' poet dedicated himself to the task of producing interludes. The authors one knows about were experts in other fields, and playwriting, for them, was a secondary activity. Contrary to what may be suggested by the above quotation, however, poetic form was not chosen for their drama by accident: since

prose had not yet been accepted as a dramatic medium,⁶ playwrights had to use verse, and - for the time being - make do with the prosody at hand. What is pertinent to the subject of this chapter is the fact that their dramatic prosody, which is different from that of most contemporary poetry (represented in the songs of the interludes) 'was indigenous to England and had no connexions with Continental poetics'.⁷ It must be added that, in spite of their obvious shortcomings as poets, these dramatists have been proved to be more skilful versifiers than has been granted to them. They employ a great variety of meters, and handle them according to their dramatic purposes: for instance, the scenes of good and virtue being distinguished from those of evil and vice by a different type of verse.⁸

The language of the interludes, like the language of all popular drama, is oriented towards theatre rather than poetry.⁹ To do it justice, then, one should judge it as a medium of dramatic expression. It should be borne in mind that the writers of this drama were self-consciously didactic, and that they wanted to impart their views to a great number of people drawn from different segments of society. In order to achieve this it was essential that they should express themselves in such a way as to be accessible to the whole community. Some authors simply followed the Christian idea of language (to be discussed below) inherited from the mystery cycles of the Middle Ages. Others, however, like the author of the first epigraph at the head of this chapter, deliberately shunned eloquence - lest it should make the matter tedious or 'hurt the sentence' - for they feared it could impair the transmission and reception of their ideas. Thus, unconsciously or consciously, choosing a basically simple, unadorned,

and colloquial type of language, interlude-writers were making that choice in keeping with the utilitarian view which informed their work.

It must also be remembered that, understandably, these playwrights were as interested in the expression of their thoughts as in their acceptance. If drama in general, 'presupposes the support of and expects the feedback from a community whose attitudes it both enunciates and affects',¹⁰ this is even more so in the case of the interludes. This is a type of drama which constantly demands reciprocation from the spectators by forcing upon them a creative participation far more active than in the drama which preceded and followed it. Interlude-writers openly intended to address their particular Tudor audience, and to make it see itself in the mirror held up to it. To succeed in their purposes they had to make a special effort to motivate its interest, and hold it throughout the performance of their plays for their lessons were not always very palatable. With this intention in mind, playwrights made of audience participation - imaginative, emotional, and even physical - a crucial part of their dramaturgy, and speech its main instrument. It has been said that the special dramatic virtues of the best interludes are intimacy and spontaneity, for 'the characters, from their first entrance, put themselves on familiar terms with the spectators, and will turn aside to address them during the action'.¹¹ This sense of intimacy and spontaneity, though helped by the physical proximity between performers and spectators, is mainly fostered by a series of linguistic devices such as direct address, soliloquy, and aside which keep the audience aware that it is an active participant in the process of putting on a play. The importance of these techniques is conspicuous in reading even a few interludes.

Yet, if intimacy and spontaneity bring about the engagement of the audience, they alone cannot sustain it without running the risk of being overdone, and losing the very effect they strive after. The spectators must be submitted to other techniques to secure their imaginative alertness. Contemporaneity is the other main tool handled by playwrights to convey a feeling of immediacy and familiarity to the members of the audience, and to make them participants without bringing them openly into the action. It has already been suggested in previous chapters that contemporaneity may be expressed by the manipulation of setting and costume. In the present chapter, the focus will be on the expression of verbal contemporaneity, that is, the use of linguistic forms which would have a special immediacy for a sixteenth-century English community. Besides holding the audience's attention and making for its quick apprehension of certain ideas, the dramatists' manipulation of oaths, proverbs, and rustic dialect can also contribute to what may be termed 'linguistic realism': regardless of the original place and time of the characters they are all made English and Tudor. This is true in a fuller and more precise sense than that implied by the basic speech convention by which characters who might be expected to use an alien tongue express themselves in perfect English. Depending on the individual skilfulness of the playwrights, these devices, when effectively handled, must have elicited an immediate emotional and imaginative response from the audience.

It is the contention of this chapter that intimacy, spontaneity, and contemporaneity are qualities which contribute to the Englishness of the dramatic language of the interludes, and that, in different ways, they are responsible for the involvement of the audience. The

idea of foreignness brought into the plays' discourse - through the use of Latin and a few modern languages such as French and Dutch - may not seem, at first sight, to help in bringing about these qualities. A careful look at the employment of foreign languages, however, will show that they also contribute to the alertness of the audience by the very strangeness of their nature, assaulting it with an accent different from theirs and, often, words incomprehensible to the great majority of its members. A close reading will also show that, by the use of foreign languages, playwrights subscribe to the idea of contemporaneity in different ways. The sound of Latin was well-known to the whole population - even if the language itself was spoken and understood only by few - because of its long connection with church services, and dramatists exploit this fact for several purposes. As has already been concluded in the previous chapter, there are very few genuine foreigners in the interludes; modern foreign languages, then, are mainly employed as aspects of the characterization of the vices or vicious figures to fulfil the xenophobic expectations of the audience. These characters occasionally sprinkle their speech with words and phrases of the language of hated foreigners for the sake of satire or deception. Finally, it may be said that, in the same way that in the medieval cycles, 'French is spoken as the language of "officialese" because it was so used in medieval England',¹² the few modern languages used as real attributes of characters in the interludes are mainly deployed to suggest some contemporary anglo-foreign issue, and as such would be easily recognizable if not comprehensible by all those who watched this drama.

In examining the dramatic speech of the interludes, one should bear in mind that its functions of conveying information and engaging

the audience cannot be separated from each other. For, at the same time that playwrights present actual themes or raise polemical points through their characters, they also display a constant concern with the presence of spectators. Obviously, some of their linguistic devices may lean either towards information or audience engagement, depending on their particular dramatic intentions at the time. For example, in the second epigraph to this chapter, the latter function is stressed through the cry of 'room', the direct address, and the rhetorical question; nevertheless, the character discloses his identity to the spectators, and the way he establishes familiarity with them also says something about his nature. Although the interrelatedness of the two will not always be mentioned, it will underlie the treatment of the linguistic devices throughout this chapter.

The dramatic speech of the interludes cannot be discussed without taking into consideration the figure of the actor. He is largely responsible for establishing that intimacy and conveying that contemporaneity which the texts merely suggest. It has been rightly asserted that 'the impact of time and place is most immediate where the actor-audience relationship is flexible, close, and spontaneous'.¹³ As will be discussed below, the Tudor actor, because of the very nature of this relationship, lent topicality to the roles he played, for these relied a great deal on his impersonation, and, thus, his personality was not hidden by the character. Thanks to him, the time and place of the performance must have been deeply felt for the actor would not hesitate to leave the world of the play, and join the world of the audience. Certainly it is no exaggeration to say that,

at the heart of this dramaturgy lay the actor's experience of his audiences - how to obtain their attention in the first instance, how to maintain it thereafter, knowledge of how to make them laugh or cry, knowledge of what would distract or bore them, how not to lose their sympathy and how to avoid arousing their active displeasure .¹⁴

Although there is much that can only be guessed about the actors' abilities and performances, the texts themselves provide the basis for speculating on their contribution in keeping the interludes in close touch with the audience's response.

Not content to speak through their characters, the authors also address themselves directly to the audience by means of prologues and epilogues. Informing it about their own personalities, opinions, and about the plays in general, they also invite its members to participate in the dramatic action, and provoke them into constant alertness.

For the purpose of this discussion, the subject will be divided into four parts: i) the language of the interludes in general; ii) the language of the characters; iii) the language of the actors; iv) the language of the playwrights. This is obviously an artificial procedure as the language of a play is an indivisible whole and, consequently, these parts will constantly overlap one another. The division should, however, prove useful in dealing with the subject as long as its purely expository function is kept in mind.

1. The Language of the Interludes in General

Before embarking on a more specific and detailed discussion of the uses of the dramatic language in the interludes, a few generalizations about the type of language employed and its function as a means of

fostering audience participation seem necessary.

1.1 The Christian Idea of Language

It is the aim of this subsection to examine briefly how the underlying idea of language subscribed to by interlude-writers influences their process of communicating with and engaging their audiences. Interludes, with very few exceptions, adopt the Christian conception of language, a legacy of the Middle Ages - though with ancient roots - which was to be challenged by a revival of the classical tradition in the Renaissance.¹⁵ Though this revival affected the Elizabethan drama, most interlude-writers, even those who wrote in the second half of the sixteenth century, adhered to the traditional philosophy of writing.

In his essay on the French Medieval play Mystere d'Adam, Erich Auerbach tells us that the rhetoric of antiquity had its conception of elevated and low styles modified by Christianity: whereas the ancients kept their styles strictly separated, Christians, in their eagerness to see the divine truth understood by the simplest souls, merged the two. They did not hesitate to convey subjects of the utmost sublimity in the common language of the people, and this style-mingling technique is adopted everywhere in the Christian literature of the Middle Ages.¹⁶

Another important aspect of the Christian idea of language is the association between words and evil since 'the original perfect communication between man and God in the Garden of Eden is destroyed by the serpent who uses words falsely to overcome Eve'.¹⁷ The Biblical example of the devil's successful verbal falseness led to a

Christian mistrust of words and their persuasive power, which was in direct contrast to the classical tradition of rhetoric which valued words exactly because they could be used as tools of persuasion and control. The ways in which the Christian conception of language affects interlude-writers can be mainly seen in the attitude they adopt towards their medium, and in the influence it exerts on their depiction of good and evil characters.

Most of these dramatists absorbed the idea of expressing serious subjects in simple language, though there is a change of attitude between some of the early and late writers. As has already been pointed out, John Rastell, the humanist author of The Four Elements (1517) deliberately avoids eloquence; though believing that English

....is now sufficient
To expound any hard sentence evident,
(p. 7)

he prefers an unadorned style not only to preach morals, but also to popularize science. With the growing interest in classical rhetoric and the linguistic embellishments it proposed, some authors, writing in the second half of the century, seem self-conscious about the simplicity of their language. John Phillip, who wrote Patient Grissell (1559), says in the prologue that the author has tried to tell the heroine's story 'so simplye as hee coulde though wantyng hawtie skill' (l. 10). And, W. Wager, who, in his Enough Is as Good as a Feast (1560), initially asks the muses to inspire him

Virtues to praise and to touch abuses,
Dividing either of them plain and directly.
(ll. 11-12)

finishes by apologizing that

....our tongue hath not so comely a grace
In that point, as hath the Latin and Greek;
We cannot like them our sentences eloquently place
(ll. 72-4).

One sees, then, that these dramatists are undecided whether the simplicity of their dramatic speech is a matter of choice or of necessity - the result of their own shortcomings or their language's. Others, however, seem untroubled by the plainness of their style, supported by Gascoigne's theory of decorum, expounded in The Glass of Government (1575), which maintained that in moral poetry 'observe decorum, for tryfling allegories or pleasant fygures in serious causes are not most comely' (III. 3. p. 48).

It has been said that 'in the moralities any genuinely latinate language is associated with virtue. The Vice does not deceive mankind by rhetorical persuasion but by negating communication, by taking words in the wrong sense and burlesquing other speech'.¹⁸ This statement is generally correct, but it needs to be qualified. Some of the Vice's verbal tricks, such as nonsense speech and wordplay, may be said to impair communication and could be called the 'negative devices' of his temptation. One must bear in mind, however, that interlude-writers, with their clearly didactic purposes, also aimed at persuading their public even if they avoided - or lacked - the rhetorical tools of classical authors. Their technique was also rhetorical in the sense that they wanted to convince their spectators to accept the Virtues' speeches and reject the Vices'. Their ideal was to make the audience react like the young hero of Lusty Juventus, who, after having heard Good Counsel's admonitions, exclaims in rapture:

For by my truth your communication I like
wonders well.
(l. 128)

or like Charity, who, after tolerating Iniquity's frivolous prating
in King Darius, finally concludes:

Thy communication I like not, truly;
(p. 45)

Yet, for the sake of their plots, playwrights cannot forget
that the Vice's aim, like the Devil's, is to trap Mankind: 'with words
fair I will him 'tice', says Hypocrisy in planning the hero's fall in
Lusty Juventus (l. 507). Thus, they must provide the agents of evil
with 'positive devices' of temptation so that they can successfully lead
Mankind to his fall. Instead of endowing the Vices with the classical
rhetorician's linguistic tools, dramatists give them an irreverent,
colloquial and mocking speech which sharply contrasts with the
decorous, formal and solemn discourse of the Virtues. It is only the
poet Skelton, who, perhaps because of his literary training, in
Magnificence invests Courtly Abusion with rhetorical qualities which
win the protagonist's heart and praise:

As I be sawed, with Pleasure I am supprysyd
Of your language, it is so well devysed;
Pullyshyd and fresshe is your ornacy.
(ll. 1529-30)

To which the Vice retorts with that false modesty peculiar to
cunningly eloquent men, and which brings the Shakespearean Antony to
mind:

A, I wolde to God that I were half so crafty,
Or in electe utteraunce halfe so eloquent,
As that I myght your noble grace content!
(ll. 1532-4)

On the whole, however, it may be said that the great persuasive power of the Vice's speech lies exactly in its plainness. Of course, piquancy, profanity and obscenity all add to its popular appeal, and the Vice indulges in them with great relish. The captivating force of his discourse is such that, as will be indicated below, generally, the first sign of the hero's corruption is his adoption of the lively though objectionable register of the Vice.

It should be noticed that, through the convention of giving the Vices a more attractive, audience-oriented language than the Virtues, playwrights succeed in creating a tension between emotional and intellectual responses on the part of the audience. Spectators may find themselves sympathising with the agents of evil, whom they know they should abhor, and less fascinated by the Virtues, whom, their conscience tells them, they should welcome. This process culminates with the audience in the difficult moral position of becoming an accomplice of the Vice in the latter's corruption of Mankind and defeat of the Virtues. It is true that this situation varies from play to play: not all audiences reached the degree of complicity experienced by those who watched Mankind. In it, besides the Vices' alluring speech full of direct address, 'the author takes great care to involve his audience directly in the play by making them participate in the very actions which are to undo Mankind'.¹⁹ Thus, by keeping the spectators suspended between their affective and intellectual perceptions, dramatists managed to keep them emotionally participant and imaginatively alert. The tension was only relieved and the conflict resolved in those moments when the Vice, in one of his characteristic moralizing outbursts, warned the audience against himself.

The Vices obviously possess other contrivances besides linguistic ones to make themselves attractive, irresistible to Mankind, both on stage and in the audience. Yet their starting point is always their ability to gain the spectator's favour by placing themselves on the latter's speech level. Though the Virtues also try to engage the audience, they never succeed in bringing about the same degree of familiarity as the Vices. For, even in those instances in which the virtuous figures are taking the members of the audience into their confidence, their language remains distant, ceremonious, and - often - patronizing. It will not be surprising, then, to discover in the course of this investigation that most of the techniques of audience manipulation are peculiar to the Vices and Vice - like figures, the characters closest to the audience - linguistically and spatially.

1.2 The Process of Audience Involvement

The dramatic uses of language in the interludes can only be properly viewed if one considers the vital importance for this drama of the process of audience engagement and manipulation. The playwrights' handling of this process is basic to the way he makes his characters speak and behave: not only do they relate to one another but to the public as well. Though audience participation is also a constituent element of medieval and Elizabethan dramas, in these two types of drama it never reached the degree of relevance found in the interludes. This may be due to the different staging conditions. As far as medieval drama is concerned, the crowds which stood in the open air to watch the mystery cycles were not allowed the same kind of proximity that interlude-spectators shared with their players. As for the Elizabethan drama, though the spectators still surrounded

the actors, the raised platforms of the professional theatre meant that stage and audience no longer shared the same level.²⁰ The marked decrease of direct address in the plays written after 1580²¹ suggests that the English drama was moving towards the establishment of a more illusory world of the play which was less cognizant of the presence of the audience.

In the drama which is the subject of this study, however, 'there seems to be a sophisticated recognition that....the interludes are entertainment for an audience that is physically present'.²² This is nicely illustrated by a scene in Fulgens and Lucrez, in which Gaius Flaminius asks the servant 'A' who else will be joining them in the play. The servant, after naming a few characters adds: 'beside(s) this honourable audience' (pt. I. 1312). Though it has to be acknowledged that some playwrights are more demanding of their spectators than others, the fact remains that the audience was part of the play, and most dramatists handled this collaborator to their great advantage.

Sometimes playwrights ascribe to their audience the realistic rôle of 'crowd' or 'congregation' in the action. John Heywood does so in The Pardoner and the Friar, in which both the title characters struggle to attract the hearers' attention throughout the play. So do the authors of John the Evangelist and John the Baptist who expect the members of the audience to behave as those who listened to the sermons of these saints. At other times, the audience is invited to play 'the crowd' in a single scene. This happens, for example, in Impatient Poverty when the hero has to do public penance (p. 344); in Susanna, in which the heroine addresses those who have come to see her trial (ll. 1105-12); and, in Horestes, in the scene in which people are gathered to watch

a royal procession (ll. 1101-12).

It is far more common, however, to find dramatists giving up any pretence of dramatic illusion, and expressing this theatrical self-consciousness by explicit references to their public as 'this company' or 'this audience', as Medwall did in Fulgens and Lucres. Thus, one finds Evil Counsel in John the Evangelist asking, 'what doth all this company here?' (p. 360); the 'Pothecary in The Four PP begging the leave of 'this company' (l. 158); and the Ranger and the Wind-miller in another Heywood play - The Play of the Weather - respectively acknowledging its presence (p. 106 and p. 114). The audience is openly taken into account by Ignorance who justifies his urge for Humanity to be merry on the grounds that

....so shalt thou best please
All this whole company.
(The Four Elements, p. 45)

and, also, by the Merchant, who prevents the Ploughman and the Knight from exchanging further blows with the excuse that

Ye wyll disturb all thys hole company
(Gentleness and Nobility, l. 728)

Playwrights occasionally tease their 'folks'²³ by taking advantage of their expected silence, and making characters interpret it as lack of courtesy. Pride, in Nature, for instance, is so displeased that he becomes insulting:

Who dwelleth here? will no man speak?
Is there no fool nor hoddypeak?
Now, by the bell, it were alms to break
Some of these knaves' brows.
A gentleman comes in at the doors,
That all his days hath worn gilt spurs,
And none of these knaves nor cutted whores
Bide him welcome to the house!
(p. 66)

The same complaint is echoed by Wealth in Wealth and Health (p. 275) and by Fortune in The Longer Thou Livest (ll. 1038-68), both characters also scolding the quiet spectators. This device is pushed to a limit when Iniquity in King Darius, not having his questions answered, concludes that the audience does not exist:

How now, my masters, how goeth the world now?
I came gladly to talk with you;
But soft, is there nobody here?
Truly, I do not like this gear;
I thought I should have found somebody.
(p. 44)

'If we find the phenomenon of audience involvement in many of the Tudor interludes', writes Robert Carl Johnson, 'the question of why is not so easily answered'.²⁴ The critic only answers the question in part, by suggesting the continuation of the medieval tradition and the staging conditions of the interludes, leaving out the governing didacticism of this drama and the underlying conventions of popular dramaturgy. Judging by the examples in his article, he seems to assume that the encouragement of audience participation was left entirely to the vicious and comic characters. As will be proposed later, the task of involving the audience in the action, though mainly entrusted to them, is shared by other characters - in varying degrees and in different ways. As for the inherited medieval technique of audience engagement, it was itself inherited. It has been demonstrated that the active participation of the audience is encouraged in ancient forms of popular drama - like the mimus and the old Attic comedy²⁵ - being a common characteristic of this type of dramaturgy.

Whereas some theatre is formal and circumspect and the intrusion of any part of the audience into the dramatic action is a source of annoyance inimicable to concentration and to the development of dramatic plot, the popular drama often cultivates the spectators' awareness of themselves, reminding them of their power to approve or disapprove, power even to alter the outcome of the representation. The popular drama maintains the flexibility to cope with the spectators' verbal and physical forays into the action.²⁶

The fact that such a convention was also adopted by court playwrights is one of the reasons which reinforces the classification of all interludes - regardless of their auspices - as essentially popular drama. For instance, Henry Medwall, openly including the audience in the dramatis personae of Fulgens and Lucres, actually makes the distinguished spectators of his play interact with the characters on stage. The former are continuously addressed - mainly by the servants 'A' and 'B', but also by the aristocratic characters Fulgens (pt. I. 222-91), Publius Cornelius (pt. I. 354-8), Gaius Flaminius (pt. II. 589-92) and Lucres (pt. II. 767-8) - befriended by their confidences, and expected to open doors (pt. II. 76-80) and search for letters (pt. II. 327-9). This familiar interaction between stage and audience takes no account of the elevated status of its members who find themselves severely reprimanded by 'B' for delaying to open the door for him (pt. II. 76-80). These aristocratic members of the audience are treated in the same uncereemonious way by the same author in Nature, in which Pride maltreats them for not paying due homage to him in the lines already quoted (p. 66), and Worldly Affection orders one of them to bring him a chair:

Get me a stool! here! may ye not see?
Or else a chair will it not be -
Thou pild knave! I speak to thee;
How long shall I stand?

(p. 105)

On the basis of what has been discussed so far it is difficult to accept Anne Richter's assertion that,

in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the medieval tradition of the audience as actor became more a hindrance than an asset. Tudor audiences demanded a major part in the performance, even in complicated, secular plays like Fulgens and Lucres or Johan Johan which could offer no justification, either symbolic or realistic, for their presence. Another attitude towards the audience was required, one which would restore to the stage, in a new, secular sense, that dignity and freedom which it had once enjoyed.²⁷

The critic seems to impose very rigid limits on drama, the criteria being either symbolic or realistic, without allowing for that mixture of both modes which characterizes the Tudor interludes and, in less degree, the Elizabethan drama.²⁸ Audience involvement - as previously noticed - is seen in terms of comic effect only, leaving out some of its other functions such as its didactic and expository purposes. One must also remember the confidences and appeals for sympathy which may serve quite functional purposes whenever interlude-writers decide that illusory scenes should be kept so. As Anne Richter herself recognizes later in her book, the Vices' remarks to the audience are far from being 'meaningless'; besides conveying information about themselves and about the development of the plot 'they were guaranteed to amuse the onlookers and keep their attention from wandering'.²⁹

The individual character alone on the stage is the most common form of audience involvement in the interludes, though the spectators could also be indirectly engaged through the dialogue of the characters. Furthermore, players and authors could - in varying measure - foster the audience's participation in the action. Though one must be aware that 'the performance is the thing and only a highly tuned imagination can recapture the effect in the study',³⁰ it is possible, with the

help of the texts, to reconstruct imaginatively the effects of the linguistic devices used to engage the audience, and partly recapture their appeal to the Tudor playgoers.

2. The Language of the Characters

In investigating the language of the characters the focus will be on those verbal techniques which encourage the imaginative, emotional, and even physical participation of the audience in the playmaking process. The commonest devices will be dealt with; the only exception being the use of wordplay because it has already been adequately treated³¹ and, for this reason, will only be discussed in conjunction with asides. Although, for the purposes of discussion, a distinction has here been made between the idea of familiarity and spontaneity, directly conveyed to the audience (by means of direct address, soliloquies, and asides) and the idea of contemporaneity, indirectly conveyed (by means of oaths, proverbs, rustic dialect and foreign languages), the distinction would in practice be frequently blurred by the complexities of utterance and response in performance.

2.1 The Use of Direct Address

It is worth attempting, to begin with, to draw a distinction between 'direct address' and 'soliloquy' or, at least, to provide some criteria by means of which they may be separately investigated. The following statement may be used as a starting-point:

In the Mysteries and Moralities, it had always been clear that characters alone on the stage spoke directly to the audience, even if no pronoun or reference to 'my masters' made the presence of this second actor explicit in the text. After the mid-point of the sixteenth century, however, the solitary reflections of characters other than the Vice begin to move out of the category of extra-dramatic address.

As soliloquy, they belong now to the self-contained world of the play.³²

The first assertion is perfectly acceptable, though the statement concerning the change in the use of direct address after the second half of the century invites some discussion.

A.C. Sprague, studying the convention of the soliloquy in Shakespearean drama, admits the existence of three types, the last being spoken 'straight to the front rows'. He concludes that 'all three types are represented in Shakespeare's writing, and it is not in every case possible to tell one from another'.³³ More recently, Neil Carson has returned to the ambiguity of the soliloquy convention, and affirmed that its nature - direct address or monologue - varies according to whether actors, directors, or critics consider the world of the play as entirely self-contained or not.³⁴ One can therefore conclude that if in the relatively self-contained Elizabethan drama there are doubts as to whether the authors and the actors deliberately ignore the presence of the audience in the employment of soliloquies, even more doubtful is the use of the convention in the interludes, in which changing standards of realism and self-containment had not yet made a full impact. With the problem of the ambiguity of this convention in mind, therefore, for the sake of the present investigation only the instances in which the characters clearly acknowledge the presence of spectators through the pronoun 'you', nouns like 'sirs' or 'masters', or other obvious references to them, will be treated as direct address. These are narrow but necessary criteria owing to the complexity of the problem.

Even with these restrictions, the number of examples of direct

address in the interludes is so huge that it defies an exhaustive listing or discussion. Playgoers expected characters in a play to address them overtly, and they were rarely disappointed. As the drama moved towards a greater acceptance of dramatic illusion, dramatists limited the use of direct address to low and minor characters, as will be seen in the next chapter.

In the interludes certain distinctions may be observed in the ways the different characters address the audience, and in the purposes for their doing so. In examining the employment of direct address by the Virtues, two characteristics are noticeable: first, their formal, solemn speech, and, second, the fact that they always address the audience as a whole, very rarely parts of it, and never a single member. Perhaps because they generally preach a sermon, or point out the moral lesson, they are led to see the audience in terms of a 'congregation'. As has already been seen in Chapter I, the Virtues' speech is mainly oriented towards the edification of the spectators, encouraging them either to follow or reject the modes of conduct displayed in the interlude.

Another characteristic of the Virtues' address to the audience is the blessing bestowed on it, either simply,

Now Jesu the gentle, that brought Adam fro Hell,
Save you all, sovereigns, and solace you send:
(Pity in Hickscorner, p. 127)

or more elaborately like Prudence in the fragmentary The Four Cardinal Virtues:

insulting, chiefly when the Vices cry for room: 'stand back, ye wretches', cries Tediousness to the spectators of Wit and Science (l. 171). And Wrath, not only unceremoniously asks for room, but also threatens the audience of The Longer Thou Livest:

Make room! stand back in the devil's name!
Stand back, or I will lay thee on the face.
(ll. 636-7)

Occasionally the Vice directs his remarks to hatted members of the audience, asking them to take their hats off, as do Hypocrisy in The Conflict of Conscience (IV. l. 964-5), and Sin in All for Money:

What, off with your caps sirs! It becomes you to
stand bare.
(l. 334)

Unlike the Virtues, however, the Vices also address individual members of their public. This is part of their brash behaviour, which must have embarrassed those who had the dubious privilege of being chosen by the agents of evil. In The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, Idleness begins by a collective address before selecting a victim for his target:

Ah! sirrah! my masters! how fare you at this
blessed day?
What, I ween all this company are come to see a
play!
What lookest thee, good fellow? didst see ne'er
a man before?
(ll. 87-9)

Nichol Newfangle, when addressed by Lucifer, pretends that the latter is really addressing one of the spectators of Like Will to Like:

'He speaketh to you sir, I pray you come near' (l. 78). Often, the Vice's unfortunate victim is a woman. It would not be particularly

embarrassing for the female members of the audience to be addressed collectively - as, for example, Courage addresses them in speaking to 'his virgins' in The Tide Tarrieth No Man (ll. 872-5), and Inclination in The Trial of Treasure, who fears the 'gentlewomen' of the audience (p. 211). Yet, several Vices prefer to tease women individually: the Vice of Horestes addresses a long speech to a 'mystres nan' (ll. 1050-9), but the special targets are the maids. Ambidexter in Cambises proposes marriage to one: 'How say you, maid? to marry me will ye be glad?' (p. 232); and Politic Persuasion does the same in Patient Grissell, on condition that the maid should have the heroine's qualities (ll. 1232-4). Covetousness, in Enough Is as Good As a Feast, pretends to be bashful because, he says, 'that maid looks on me' (l. 482). Through this contrivance of singling out individual members of the audience, the Vices not only succeed in keeping all of them constantly attentive, but also go a step further towards a high degree of intimacy with playgoers.

Yet, the Vices' most ingenious employment of direct address occurs when they are deliberately trying to ingratiate themselves with audiences by taking them into their confidence. The first step is to befriend their members by calling them 'friends' or 'gentill frendes' like Politic Persuasion in Patient Grissell (l. 477). Then they begin to disclose their real names to 'their new friends as Avarice does in Respublica:

But now what my name is and what is
my purpose,
Taking all you for friends I fear not to dis-
close.
My very true unchristian name is Avarice
Which I may not have openly known in
no wise,
(I. l. 11-14)

direct address characteristic of the Virtues, whereas the vicious and comic ones share those uses favoured by the Vice. The mankind representative may adopt either style of address, depending on his moral state.

The virtuous characters also preach openly as do the Bishop in the early The Pride of Life and the prophet Oseas in the late A Looking-Glass for London and England. In the former, the Bishop delivers a sermon on the degeneracy of the world, and the human need for God's grace (ll. 327-390); in the latter, Oseas warns Londoners several times against the evils which befell Nineveh. Heroines like Susanna and Grissell feel entitled to point out the good path to others. The first, after having been saved by divine interference, addresses those who have come to see her trial - a part played by the spectators:

.See here good people, unto you all I speake,
How God doth helpe the innocent, and eake their sorowes breake,
(Susanna, ll. 1105-6)

The second, a paragon of filial behaviour, reminds the children in the audience of their duties towards their parents (Patient Grissell, ll. 598-607). These serious characters also trust the spectators with their problems. The best example is provided by Bomelio in The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune who, beginning 'list, lordings, now my tragedy begins' (III. pp. 174-5), unfolds to his hearers the whole story of his present misery.

The hero of Mankind contributes - together with Mercy and the Vices - to the permanent involvement of the audience. He blesses it (ll. 186-8); confides his spiritual uneasiness to it (ll. 204-5); tells it the measures he has taken to avoid temptation (ll. 316-21); shows it the spade with

which he fights the Vices (l. 395); and, on the whole, keeps it informed of his activities every time he leaves the stage (ll. 410-11; ll. 562-5), including his decision to join the Vices in the tavern (ll. 610-12). It is also observable that, like the Vices, some heroes cry for room to reach the acting area. This address can be friendly as in the case of Freewill in Hickscorner (see the second epigraph to this chapter), or threatening as in the cases of the protagonist of Youth (ll. 39-40) and Moros in The Longer Thou Livest (ll. 940-1). This address functions as a verbal clue to the audience, to indicate to it the corrupted moral state of the young heroes. The same may be said of the cry of 'room' with which the son in The Disobedient Child leaves his father, after deciding to go against the latter's wishes:

Room, I say; room, let me be gone:
My father, if he list, shall tarry alone.
(p. 280)

These heroes also trust the spectators, asking for their advice, as does Man in Nature (p. 86), or for a more active sort of collaboration as the eponymous hero of Lusty Juventus:

Is there any man here that will go to game?
At whatsoever he will play
To make one I am ready to the same.
(ll. 57-9)

On the whole, it may be said that the young protagonists, like the Virtues, only employ the collective form of direct address. They never adopt the Vices' technique of singling out a member of the audience as a potential partner in dialogue.

The irreverence of the Vices' direct address is also shared by the comic characters. This irreverence has already been pointed out.

for the servants 'A' and 'B' in Fulgens and Lucres . They also demand as much direct collaboration of the spectators as the Vices. Johan Johan, in the play which bears his name, asks them the whereabouts of his wife at the beginning and at the end of the play (ll. 2-3 and ll. 673-4); he also asks them to keep quiet and not plead for Tyb when she will - as he thinks - be beaten (ll. 66-71). Another unhappy husband, 'Raph' of The Cobbler's Prophecy, begs the audience not to tell his wife where he is hiding (l. 74), and later asks the spectators where she is (ll. 608-9). Codrus, in Misogonus, also uses the audience as a source of information:

how now my mosters did none of you see my
sondid sowe
(III. 1-2)

and, Corin, in Clyomon and Clamydes, asks:

Gos bones turne in that sheep there and you
be good fellowes,
(sc. XV. 1288)

Comic characters also emulate the Vices in choosing individual members of the audience to interact with them. The best examples can be found in Thersites and Wilson's London plays. In the former, the hero teases one spectator after another: 'the good godfather, that look so stale', the man 'with a countenance so demure', a woman and a maid (pp. 203-4). Thersites can be quite bold as he tells a spectator:

Go, coward, go, hide thee as thou was wont to do.
(p. 203)

and asks a girl:

I pray you show how long it is, since ye were a maid?
(p. 204)

In The Three Ladies of London, Simplicity selects 'that fellow that sits in the corner' (p. 288), 'yonder boy' (p. 289), and the 'fellow that gapes to bite me' (p. 327), to suffer his pranks. And, in the sequel to the play, the same character asks one of the spectators to judge a singing contest:

Friend, what say you? which of us sings best?
(p. 395)

From the examples of the use of direct address quoted above one may infer the popularity of this device among interlude-writers. Thanks to it, spectators were continuously brought into the play by the Virtues, Vices, serious and comic characters, collectively and individually. Besides familiarity, direct address may also convey contemporaneity. As it generally breaks dramatic illusion, the overt references to the audience contribute to bringing it back from the supposed place and time of the world of the play to the 'here' and 'now' of the performance. In this sense, direct address functions in the same way as anachronism, and, in both cases, the cumulative effect of repeated uses succeeds in keeping the dramatic action - most of the time - firmly grounded in the world of the audience.

2.2 The Use of Soliloquies

The ambiguity of the convention of the soliloquy, already referred to, must be taken up again. It has been said that 'when a character, during the course of a drama, is actually alone upon the stage and his speech implies that he believes himself alone, then he is soliloquizing. Even though other characters are present, the speech may be soliloquy if it shows complete isolation and oblivion to surroundings'.³⁵ The point to be defended in the present investigation is that the few

soliloquies one comes across in the interludes fall outside the limits imposed by the above definition simply because the actor delivering his speech could not feel isolated from the audience. Not only did the didacticism of the interludes prevent playwrights from disregarding the presence of the spectators but also the intimacy between stage and audience brought about by staging conditions³⁶ made it impossible for the actors to show 'oblivion to surroundings'. Though some of the examples to be discussed below could be treated in the same way as most soliloquies in self-contained plays - in which the character is supposed to be either thinking aloud or talking to himself - it must be kept in mind that they belong to a tradition which discourages such a treatment. Thus, it is suggested here that the soliloquies of the interludes belong to the third type already mentioned in the discussion of direct address - the one spoken straight to the audience - and, as such, function as a useful technique of audience engagement. Unlike most uses of direct address, however, this type of soliloquy breaks the initial dramatic illusion to create another: in this case it is the spectator that momentarily leaves his role to assume that of presumptive player, being the object of the character's confessions. Thus is brought about 'the idea of drama and society as cooperative and mutually reacting faces of the imagination, of the spectator as improvising actor'.³⁷

The earliest and most effective employment of this device in the interludes is found in Everyman. In this play both God and the hero attract the participation of the audience through their soliloquies. God's opening speech (ll. 22-62) with its sustained ambivalence of pronouns (Everyman is spoken of as both singular and plural in number) implicates the audience both individually and collectively.³⁸ Then,

Appius and Virginia (1564), Damon and Pithias (1565), and Horestes (1567).

In The Disobedient Child, the Father left alone after his son's departure, appears to be addressing the parents in the audience since part of his speech is spoken in the first person plural - 'we parents'. He comments on the afflictions of parenthood in general, before narrowing the subject down to his own particular case (pp. 280-1). As a matter of fact it would be exceptional if the Father's soliloquy were not directly delivered to the spectators since all the other characters in the play - the Son (p. 276), the Priest (p. 291), the Man-Cook (p. 284) and the Devil (pp. 307-11) - openly communicate with the audience.

The protagonist of Cambises soliloquizes when he is about to die: he narrates how he wounded himself by chance, and offers himself as an example:

A just reward for my misdeeds my death
doth plain declare.
(p. 245)

The King does not overtly acknowledge the audience in his speech, but his words are so obviously spoken for its benefit that they would lose their moralizing effect if not offered directly to its members.

The heroes of Appius and Virginia and Horestes deliver soliloquies which come closer to the type defined as 'thinking aloud'; both of them show the conflict that is going on in their souls. Appius debates between his unlawful passion for Virginia and his moral integrity (pp. 17-19), whereas Horestes vacillates between avenging his father and sparing his mother (ll. 200-17). In both cases the doubts are resolved with the help of the Vice, who enters immediately after the

speeches. These scenes recall those in earlier interludes, in which both the Virtues and the Vices contend for the hero's soul. In these later plays the heroes themselves are in charge of presenting the alternative to an evil course. The moral issue is still there, however, for the edification of the spectators. Thus, the way to make them participants in the action is to have the conflict directly entrusted to them through the protagonists' soliloquies.

In Damon and Pithias there are two soliloquies worth noticing: one by Aristippus (pp. 19-21), and another by Stephano (pp. 25-7). The first could very well disregard the audience since the philosopher is commenting on the false friendship the parasite Carisophus offers him, and could be musing to himself. Stephano, however, could only be addressing the spectators because of the expository nature of his soliloquy. One would have to stretch the convention too far to admit that these lines could have been spoken by someone who thinks himself alone:

Ofttimes I have heard, before I came hither,
That no man can serve two masters together;
A sentence so true, as most men do take it,
At any time false that no man can make it:
And yet by their leave, that first have it spoken,
How that may prove false, even here I will open:
(p. 25)

Although in this speech the servant does not acknowledge that he is aware of an audience, the kind of information he supplies - his own name, that of his masters, how these two became acquainted, why they were travelling together - can only be justified if conveyed directly to spectators.

Judging by these examples it is possible to question the assertion

that these soliloquies belong entirely to the world of dramatic illusion. In spite of the changes that were taking place in the drama, the interludes of the second half of the sixteenth century are still essentially didactic. Moreover, as long as the underlying conventions of popular drama prevailed, and the staging conditions for which the plays were written remained intimate, it is feasible to accept that the soliloquies of the interludes were meant to be delivered with full awareness of the presence of spectators. The characters who soliloquize turn them into confidants, and reach varying degrees of familiarity with them. The protagonists of Everyman and Respublica, for instance, become closer to the audience as their repeated soliloquies impart to it the development of their plights. The convention of these soliloquies relies on the spectators as participants and almost as potential performers.

2.3 The Use of Asides

The word 'aside' has been given two meanings: 'it may refer to something said by one of the dramatic characters to another (or others) not intended to be heard by all of those present. It may also refer to what is very like a soliloquy (usually short) spoken while other characters are present - and known to be present by the speaker - but unheard by them'.⁴⁰ In the second sense the aside may be delivered as if the speaker were thinking aloud, talking to himself, or talking to the audience.⁴¹

The first type of aside is hardly found in the interludes. One of the rare examples is supplied by Calisto and Melibea. In an aside to Sempronio, Celestina confides:

for without money with me nothing speeds
(p. 65)

When Calisto asks his servant what she says, the latter cunningly reports:

Sir, she thinketh that money all thing feeds
(p. 65)

The second type of aside is far more common, being used rather as a technique of audience engagement - openly directed at the audience - than as a convention of the self-contained play. It is significant that the employment of asides is peculiar to the Vices and comic characters, the figures in close contact with the audience.

Calisto and Melibea provides illustrations for the second type of aside as well. Sempronio mocks his master's passion (p. 53), and Celestina does the same with Melibea's enraged outbursts of virtue (p. 79 and p. 81) in remarks to the audience. Johan Johan is punctuated by the hero's asides.⁴² Through them he communicates to the spectators his suspicions that Sir John is Tyb's lover (l. 128-31 and ll. 140-3); his displeasure at the prospect of having him as a guest (ll. 207-12); and his growing anger at the pair as they feast in his presence (l. 489-93 and ll. 530-1). This series of asides together with a number of direct addresses, totally engage the members of the audience in the protagonist's domestic ordeal. Other asides uttered by comic characters can be exemplified by Mulciber's intention towards Thersites,

I must do somewhat for this knave;
(Thersites, p. 197)

and Wit's page Will commenting on Lady Experience, his master's future mother-in-law:

I warrant her a shrew, whosoever be another,
God make the daughter good, I like not the
mother.

(The Marriage of Wit and Science, III. 2. p. 350)

This type of aside is invariably derogatory and critical of the personality or ideas of the other speaker engaged in the conversation. The Vice's mocking comment is - of course - fully understood by the spectators but not by his partner in the dialogue, who generally asks the Vice to repeat his sentence and clear up the 'misunderstanding'.⁴⁴ This is what the Vice does by availing himself of wordplay, thus tricking his partner and delighting the audience. Several illustrations of this combination can be found in the interludes. In The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, Idleness, in an aside to the audience, confides his real feelings concerning a match between Wantonness and Wit:

Yea, and that will be a ready carriage to the
rope.
(1. 191)

Yet, when Wantonness questions him - 'What sayest thou?' - he immediately retorts:

That will be a speedy marriage, I hope.
(1. 193)

In The Conflict of Conscience, Hypocrisy gives, in a remark to the spectators, his true opinion of his partners when he bids them

Farewell three false knaves as between this
and London.
(III. 4. 952)

To Tyranny's question - 'What sayest thou?' - he quickly answers,

As honest men as the three Kings of Colon!
(III. 4. 954)

A similar exchange of words occurs in King Darius with Partiality questioning Iniquity's remark, and getting a different meaning - though

with a similar sound - from the one delivered to the audience (p. 51). In The Trial of Treasure the Vice's fondness for this type of audience engagement is even more conspicuous: Inclination employs it no less than five times.⁴⁵ His preference for this type of aside is such that, in one instance, he employs it twice successively. Lust, referring to his desire to meet Lady Treasure's brother (Pleasure), says:

Truly of him I would fain have a sight,
For because that in pleasure I have marvellous
delight.
(p. 234)

To which Inclination retorts in an aside:

Then honesty and profit you may bid good night.
(p. 234)

When Lust asks him - 'What say'st thou?' - he answers with two examples of wordplay: one to make up the pattern of the previous aside, and the other to prepare for the next which immediately follows:

I say he will shortly appear in sight;
I know by this singing the same is he,
[Aside] The misbegotten Orpheus I think that
he be
(p. 234)

As the target of the Vice's mockery is either a fellow Vice or a vicious hero such as Lust, such asides create no tension in the spectators who can indulge themselves in conniving with the Vice's deceit without feeling torn by their sympathy for the Virtues and the inexperienced Mankind figure. On the other hand, the audience is encouraged to be more alert as the enjoyment of the 'aside plus wordplay' depends on a complete understanding of all the words that make up the combination.

On the whole, the employment of asides in the interludes may be regarded as a reinforcement of the familiarity between certain characters and the spectators. It may also be considered as another contrivance used by playwrights to vary the ways in which the interaction between stage and audience - fostered by direct address and soliloquy - could be maintained.

2.4 The Use of Oaths

Sixteenth-century Englishmen seem to have been very fond of exclamatory oaths. The habit had been inherited from medieval times when swearing was already part of the everyday language of the people.⁴⁶ The popularity of swear-words continued unabated in the following century, being adopted by all classes of society. Of course oaths and imprecations could not help making their way into the drama. They were used extensively not only in the interludes but also in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays to the great indignation of the moralists of the time. Yet, in spite of the protests raised against the use of blasphemous language on the stage, not until 1606 was an Act of Parliament approved forbidding the use of the names of God, Christ, the Holy Ghost, and the Trinity in any stage play or performance.⁴⁷

The presence of oaths in the interludes is not merely an accident motivated by their widespread use in everyday language, as some of their anachronistic occurrences may suggest. Most of them are deliberately used as a technique of audience engagement, and in ways which differ from those of the subsequent drama, which, for example, satirizes the current fashions in swearing.⁴⁸ Interlude-writers regarded oaths not only as a means to make their characters convey an impression of familiarity and contemporaneity to the spectator, but also as a way of

preaching to them the prevalent moral attitude that swearing was a sin. To achieve their aims, they capitalized on the audience's awareness of the degree of blasphemy attached to certain oaths, and its change of attitude concerning others after the Reformation.

The interlude playwrights, like their medieval counterparts, employ oaths apparently without any concern to make them conform to the supposed religion of the characters who utter them. Christian oaths abound in the supposedly pagan atmosphere of The Play of the Weather, in which the Vice Merry Report not only swears by God (p. 98) and Our Lady (p. 124) but also by a series of saints: Saint Anne (p. 101 and p. 106), Saint Mary (p. 103), Saint Eve (p. 104), St. Thomas (p. 118) and Saint Anthony (p. 119). This anachronistic use of oaths also occurs in the classical settings of other plays. In Appius and Virginia the Vice Hapzard and the servants Mansipulus and Mansipula not only swear by the gods (pp. 11-12), but also by the mass (p. 13), by God (p. 14) and by God's mother (p. 15). Damon and Pithias is crowded with oaths invoking both Our Lady and God.⁴⁹ In Horestes, whereas the hero swears by the gods (l. 896 and l. 904), the Vice not only swears 'by gys' (l. 102) and by 'Jesu god', but also by 'goges oundes' (l. 53); and Christian oaths are also uttered by the minor characters Hempstringe and Haultersycke (for instance, l. 383, l. 387 and l. 389). It is also curious to find Christian oaths mixed with allusions which recall the original classical setting of Ralph Roister Doister: whereas Ralph and Suresby invoke Juno and refer to Neptune respectively (III.3.6) and (IV.1.5), Goodluck gets by with a vigorous 'by Saint Marie!' (V.1. 2). Finally, it is worth noticing that the author of The Three Ladies of London in an effort to stress Gerontus's Jewishness makes him swear by the prophet of Islam:

Truly pay me my money, and that even now
presently,
Or by mighty Mahomet I swear....
(p. 345)

The main problem posed by the anachronism of oaths illustrated above is that one cannot be sure whether it was consciously employed by the authors, or merely a common and temporal disregard for this type of religious accuracy. Yet, whether consciously devised or not, there is no doubt that the use of such everyday words by foreign characters would contribute to their anglicization.

The other way in which dramatists use oaths is obviously didactic, and they add their voices to those of the moralists of the time who branded the speech habit of swearing as a dangerous sin. Interludes try to impress their audiences with this condemnation not only by censuring swearing openly,⁵⁰ but also by making swear-words appear reprehensible through their use by the Vices and the young hero in a state of moral decadence. The Virtues may occasionally utter an oath - like Mercy's 'by Jesu Christ!' in Mankind (l. 115) - but it is the cumulative effect of the Vices' constant repetition of similar and stronger expressions that conveys the idea of profanity to the audience. Thus, besides contributing to stress the evil of these characters, the Vices' oaths can also be used as vehicles for satire of swearers, inviting the spectators to examine their own linguistic habits.

The Vices of Mankind swear profusely: New Guise, by Saint Anne (p. 74), by Saint Audrey's holy bend (l. 629), and by the Holy Mary (l. 636); Nought swears by Saint Quintin (l. 270) and by Saint Denis (l. 487). Their swearing is another attribute of their 'idle language' condemned by Mercy. In Nature, Worldly Affection swears 'by the Mary

Virgin' (p. 77), whereas his companion sensuality invokes 'Cock's precious body' (p. 80); in The World and the Child, Folly swears by God (l. 533), by the rood (l. 615), and by the church of Saint Michael (l. 653); in Hickscorner, the Vice and his followers Freewill and Imagination all swear; among Hickscorner's oaths one finds 'by our Lady' (p. 141) and 'by Saint Mary' (p. 143). These examples will help to qualify the assertion that, in post-Reformation plays, the Vice's use of Catholic oaths is one of the ways of proclaiming his Catholicism: 'the old Vice condemns himself swearing by the devil and hell; the new Vice condemns himself swearing by the mass and by Mary'.⁵¹

The first statement is rather sweeping⁵², but as far as the second is concerned it is true that the Vices of overtly Protestant plays like Three Laws, Lusty Juventus, Mary Magdalene, King Darius, The Trial of Treasure and New Custom all swear by the mass, and may be thus identified as Catholics. This assumption is strengthened by the strong polemical bias of plays like Three Laws, Lusty Juventus, and New Custom, which would overtly encourage the spectators to associate Catholicism with the agents of evil. In such cases it may be said that swear-words are used not only to convey the blasphemous nature of the characters who use them but also to elicit an emotional response from the audience.

The only difficulty with the above assumption is that it does not account for the swearing of the Protestant Vices in Respublica: Adulation swears by the mass (I. 4. 379), and Avarice by the Mary mass twice (II. 2. 461 and V. 10. 1980).⁵³ The conclusion that may be drawn in this instance is that the author of Respublica did not avail himself of the use of oaths as a technique of satire, preferring to employ them to emphasize the impious character of the Vices.

to abandon its own. To make the lesson effective, they tried to involve it emotionally by shocking its members with the frequency and gravity of the Vices' blasphemies.

Swearing also functions in the interludes as a linguistic indicator of the young hero's corruption. When he decides to follow the Vices, not only does he adopt their manners and ways of life but also characteristic forms of their speech such as swear-words. As early as The Castle of Perseverance the audience is made to understand that the hero is well gone in his way to temptation when he swears 'by God's blood' (l. 882) in his talk to Avarice, and repeatedly swears when talking to Pride (l. 1076) and Wrath (l. 1111). In The World and the Child as soon as Manhood accepts Folly as his friend he swears 'by Christ' (l. 660). In Lusty Juventus the hero's oaths suggest that he has become both a swearer and a Catholic, a double crime in the eyes of a Protestant audience. The Vice of the play, Hypocrisy, repeatedly swears by the mass (l. 367, l. 387, l. 496, l. 580, l. 611 and l. 699), and Juventus, the moment he succumbs to the Vice's temptation, signifies it by adopting his favourite oath (l. 709). The hero shows his growing profanity by subsequently swearing by 'Gog's precious wounds' (l. 804), and by 'God's precious blood' (l. 806). And Moros, the protagonist of The Longer Thou Livest, indicates that he has fallen entirely into the Vices' hands by the succession of swear-words contained in his speech:

Body of God! give me my sword.
Heart, wounds! I will kill them by and by.
Arms and sides! I have spoken the word.
His blood and bones! they shall die.
(ll. 1357-1360)

By making oaths function as verbal signals to the spectators that the young protagonist is on the road to damnation, interlude-writers were

provoking them again - in a different way - into the realization of the spiritual danger of this linguistic habit.

Swear-words may also contribute to the participatory experience of the audience by being uttered by the comic characters. Not only are they amusing expressions but they often defeat the audience's expectations by turning out to be unusual oaths. For instance, the hero of Thersites swears by 'God's dear brother' and couples it immediately with 'in the devil's name' (p. 216); Hodge in Gammer Gurton's Needle swears by 'God's malt' (V. 2. 296); Jack invokes 'Cock's precious podstick' in Jack Juggler (p. 8); and the giant Tediousness betrays his non-Christian nature by swearing by 'Mahownd's bones' and 'Mahownd's nose' in Wit and Science (l. 213 and l. 215). In Misogonus a series of original and funny imprecations occurs, either uttered by the Vice-like Cacurgus or by the low-life characters. The former's contribution may be exemplified by his double oath 'Godes armentage godes denti deare' (I. 3. 10), and 'Gods sokinges' (III. 2. 1)⁵⁶; and Isbell recalls Sturdie's swearing in Tom Tyler and His Wife (p. 297) when she invokes 'Gods blwe hood' (IV. 1. 127).

To conclude, it may be said that, by incorporating the habit of swearing in the language of their characters, interlude-writers were contributing to the sense of familiarity and contemporaneity felt by their public. Anachronistic oaths helped to lend credibility to characters who could appear too distant in their foreignness. The Vices' blasphemous swearing and the young hero's initiation into it projected the contemporary attitude of condemnation of profanity. Besides capitalizing on the popularity of swear-words for the sake of linguistic realism and didactic intentions, playwrights also capitalized

on it to amuse the audience by surprising it with comic variations of well-known oaths, without passing moral judgement on the users. This seems to indicate that, although sympathizing with the moralists of the time and trying to put their message across, playwrights were also aware that the habit was deeply ingrained, being shared by both sinners and non-sinners. Thus, the degree of the intensity of the audience's response to the imprecations uttered on the stage would be dependent on the playwrights' dramatic purposes.

2.5 The Use of Proverbs

In the prologue to his play Like Will to Like Quod the Devil to the Collier, Ulpian Fulwell gives his reasons for choosing such a title:

Sith pithy proverbs in our English tongue
doth abound,
Our author thought good such a one for to choose
As may show good example, and mirth may eke
be found,
(ll. 13-15)

Judging by the titles of other interludes, many writers shared Fulwell's idea of using proverbs to name their works. Thus, one finds Wager's The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art and Enough Is as Good as a Feast; Wapull's The Tide Tarrieth No Man, and Lupton's All for Money. To this list one can also add two lost plays: 'Tis Good Sleeping in a Whole Skin (attributed to Wager), and Hit Nail o' the Head, one of the interludes offered by the players in The Book of Sir Thomas More.⁵⁷

To understand the way interlude-writers could go beyond titles, and use proverbs to elicit a response from their audiences, it is necessary to say a few words about the wide popularity of proverbial

sayings and their appeal to the learned and unlearned alike. It has been asserted that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the use of proverbs had already been extensively cultivated: 'it came of age-old tradition rooted in popular wisdom and morality, exemplified in sacred scriptures of world religions, and authorized by ancient, medieval, and Renaissance rhetoric and poetic. It had long served as a pedagogical tool and as a literary device'.⁵⁸ In England, the distaste for proverbs seems to have developed only in the last years of the seventeenth century and become more pronounced as the eighteenth century advanced;⁵⁹ before this, however, proverbs had already made their presence deeply felt in the medieval drama, interludes, and Elizabethan plays.

Though proverbs can also be employed in the interludes for the sake of characterization, humour and satire, they will be investigated here mainly as a means to foster the audience's participatory experience. As such, they bring to the language of the characters echoes of that voice that the audience recognizes as its own. Proverbs are extensively used by interlude-writers, as has been demonstrated by B.J. Whiting's exhaustive study.⁶⁰ In it he reaches an important conclusion for the purposes of this chapter: that proverbs are most commonly found in the speeches of the evil and comic characters: 'the Virtues often get a fair share of the sententious remarks, but seldom many of the proverbs and proverbial sayings'.⁶¹ This means that proverbial speech is usually a characteristic of those characters who come closest to the audience. These, more than the serious characters can appeal to the spectators' knowledge of a common love of wisdom, and share the latter's perspective. Once again, one sees language dramatically contrived to reinforce the proximity and familiarity of certain characters with the audience.

One of the main reasons governing the use of proverbs in the interludes is the fact that - in Fulwell's words quoted at the beginning of this subsection - they 'may show good example'. They are employed with a view to the edification of the audience, though Mercy in Mankind is among the few Virtues who employs proverbs to further his teaching.⁶² He admonishes the Vices with 'Few words! few, and well set!' (l. 101), and preaches to Mankind that 'measure is treasure' (l. 236). Yet, some of the corrupted heroes of the plays are the ones to 'show good example'. The protagonist of Mankind expresses his repentance to the audience through a proverb:

The proverb saith: the truth tryeth thyself.
Alas! I have much care!
(l. 844)

And so does Ralfe Roister in Like Will to Like, in showing himself as a negative model of behaviour to the spectators:

O Lord, why did not I consider before
What should of roisting be the final end?
Now the horse is stol'n, I shut the stable door,....
Wherefore all here take example by me.
Time tarrieth no man, but passeth still away;
(ll. 989-91, 999-1000)

As far as the Vices are concerned, their employment of popular wise sayings often suggests the authors' intention of exhibiting their fair-seeming appearance to entice their victims.. This can be illustrated by Dissimulation's proverb in King John - 'though I seem a sheep, I can play the subtle fox' (I. p. 25). It is worth noticing that in the same way that the young hero adopts the Vice's oaths, he also adopts his proverbial sayings. For instance, in Lusty Juventus, Hypocrisy teaches the protagonist how to defend himself against his good companions' rebuke:

And if you be reproved with your own affinity,
Bid them pluck the beam out of their own eye..
(ll. 681-2)

A few lines further on, Juventus shows he has learned the lesson; when criticized by Good Counsel he retorts: 'but you will not see the beams in your own eyes' (l. 964). Thus, thanks to the Vice's mediation, the Mankind figure on the stage comes closer to Mankind in the audience.

Though most proverbial expressions are skilfully fitted into the dialogue, playwrights often call the special attention of the audience to proverbs being employed in the speech of the characters. Thus Hardidardy prepares his hearers in Godly Queen Hester:

A proverb, as men say: a dog hath a day
Whensoever that it chance.
(p. 270)

Other examples may be provided by Idleness in The Marriage of Wit and Science,

...the proverb is verified,
I am neither idle, nor yet well-occupied
(IV. 4. p. 87)

and by the hero of Tom Tyler and His Wife, when singing a song:⁶³

The proverb reporteth, no man can deny,
That wedding and hanging is destiny
(p. 293)

Proverbs could convey a sense of intimacy and immediacy to an audience by reflecting its deeply ingrained beliefs. As has been said about interlude-writers,

Some of them were certainly sophisticated but they all knew, and this fact is part of the strength of the most minor Tudor writings, the language and thought of the English people of

their age. In their use of proverbs, they followed a convention which they themselves created and enforced, but the proverbs they used came from the folk from which they sprang and to which they were so close....they were expressing the verities which seemed natural to them and to their audience.⁶⁴

It is interesting to notice how these authors try to support the moral authority of popular experience by appealing to that timelessness of folk tradition which lends it truth. This can be illustrated by the frequency with which playwrights attach the adjective 'old' to qualify the word 'proverb'. For example, in Godly Queen Hester, Assuerus mentions 'a proverb of old some time in usage' (p. 287), before quoting it; the Wind-miller refers to an 'old proverb' in The Play of the Weather; and so do the hero of Johan Johan (l. 597), Idleness in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom (l. 245), and Brian Sans Foy in Clyomon and Clamydes (l. 839). There are other instances in which the proverb is called 'an old saying' as in The Glass of Government (III. 1. p. 44) and All for Money (l. 1271); or an 'old-said saw' as in The Marriage of Wit and Science (V. 1. p. 89) and The Conflict of Conscience (II. 1. 319); or introduced by the phrase 'old folks say' in Horestes (l. 260).

Interlude-writers could give proverbial speech a more sophisticated artistic function in their plays as demonstrated by John Skelton in Magnificence, or employ them in a variety of ways as Nathaniel Woodes in The Conflict of Conscience.⁶⁵ Yet, in general, these writers concentrated on the possibilities of proverbs as a means of appealing to their audiences' common background of morality and traditional folk wisdom.

2.6 The Use of Rustic Dialect

Rustic dialect was often employed by interlude-writers, possibly

encouraged by the histrionic talent of their performers, since mimicry was considered one of the necessary skills of players.⁶⁶ The distinctive features of this dialect correspond to those which were common to the whole of England south of the Thames (nowadays only a characteristic of the southwest)⁶⁷, and which became conventionalized as the way of representing the speech of country people as a whole. Though rustic speech is frequently used in the interludes, it is more commonly found in those written after 1550. This confirms the assertion that 'the fashion of representing rustic speech in literature appears, so far as the extant evidence goes, to be no older than the middle of the sixteenth century'.⁶⁸ The only exceptions in the case of the drama under discussion are provided by Bale's Three Laws (1538) and Redford's Wit and Science (1539).

The representation of this dialect in the Tudor interludes - as far as it is discernible from the spelling of the texts - is neither consistently nor accurately done. Presumably the authors relied on the talents of the players to put on a more consistent and accurate accent than a graphic representation could suggest. For instance, sometimes characters speak perfectly standard English, and then slip into dialect for only one or two lines, as do Madge Mumblecrust in Ralph Roister Doister (I. 3. 99-100), Gronno in Damon and Pithias (p. 58), and Alcion in A Looking-Glass for London and England (III. 2. 1041-2). Tom Tyler (in Tom Tyler and his Wife) sprinkles his speech with dialectal forms such as 'ich' but goes no further; and, in Cambises, though the low characters Hob and Lob speak rustic (pp. 218-19 and p. 221), Hob's wife - Marian-May-Be-Good - does not (pp. 222-3). Though it may be said that country people are generally portrayed as speakers of dialect, the Ploughman of Gentleness and Nobility, and Doll, Lob, and Mother Bee of

The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom are allowed to express themselves in standard English. In view of such inconsistencies, the focus of the present investigation will be on those characters who speak more than two lines of dialect, and also on those who, speaking very little rustic, use it to make a point which is important to the overall idea of the play.

Interlude-writers manipulated the use of dialect with other views in mind than simply amusing the audience. They also aimed at fulfilling the larger and intertwined purposes of didacticism and audience participation. The message conveyed through dialect is usually effective, for characters speaking it draw the audience's attention to the verbal texture of the play by surprising it with peculiarities of speech other than its own. At the same time, these speakers also display an impression of familiarity and native homeliness, though expressed in the conventionalized linguistic forms of one region.

The interludes present a few characters who take a very small part in the action, and who speak dialect for the sake of amusement. Their language provokes a comic response because all these characters are engagingly funny, projecting the idea of country people as plain, honest, and amusingly naïve. These types would be easily befriended by the audience not only because of their traits, but also because most of them communicate freely with the spectators. Such are Hob and Lob in Cambises (pp. 218-49 and p. 221), Rusticus and Hodge in Horestes (ll. 24-199), Corin in Clyomon and Clamydes (ll. 1288-333), and Codrus - in spite of his rather inconsistent dialect - in Misogonus (III. 1). The only instance of characters speaking dialect for comic purposes and participating largely in the plot is provided by

Gammer Gurton's Needle. In this play, half of the cast - Hodge, Gammer Gurton, Tib and Cock - is made to speak rustic speech throughout the action.

There is another group of characters who speak rustic, and have more important roles to play in the interludes. Their language is - apparently - an explicit index of their nature. Nevertheless, it happens that these speakers of dialect are either Vices or vicious characters - which frustrates the audience's conventional expectations of good, plain, honest country people. Thus, the spectators have to readjust their responses, since there is disagreement between what the dialect suggests the speakers are, and what they turn out to be. This readjustment breeds a certain tension, for these figures are theatrically attractive. Their use of rustic speech is amusing in itself, and it parallels and reinforces other verbal and non-verbal comic activities. Yet, the audience is encouraged to probe into these characters' real nature, and see their evil through the comic devices at their disposal. Once more it is torn between its sympathy for the personages and its awareness that it should reject them.

In the humanistic plays Wit and Science and The Marriage of Wit and Science, the Vice Ignorance is portrayed as a stupid boy who speaks rustic idiom.⁶⁹ In the first play, Ignorance is unable to learn how to spell his name, to the despair of Idleness who tries to teach him (ll. 460-552). Of course rustic idiom also suggests lack of education, and, in both interludes, this is underlined in order to frighten the reluctant young scholar - both on the stage and in the audience - with an image of what he might become: 'like this rude beast Ignorance', in the words of Nature to Humanity, referring to the same Vice in The Four Elements (p. 50).

If Ignorance was a beast for humanist writers, for Protestant authors it was a Catholic priest. As has already been seen in the previous chapter, this unlearned churchman was the butt of the satire of the Reformers. Thus, Wager in Enough Is as Good as a Feast signals the main characteristic of the priest Ignorance by making him speak in dialect when he first appears: 'cham faint by gysse, would ich had a little more bum' (l. 1252). Though he speaks standard English afterwards, his lack of education is emphasized by the fact that, like Ignorancy, he is unable to spell (l. 1402). The other Vice also associated with ignorance and who expresses himself in dialect is Greedy Gut in The Trial of Treasure. Inclination openly mocks his fellow Vice's stupidity with the comparison 'as wise as a daw' (p. 217), and is contemptuous of the latter's rustic speech:

This cow-bellied knave doth come from the
cart;
Ise teach you to speak, I hold you a pound.
(p. 216)

The examples of vicious characters who speak rustic idiom all illustrate different human faults. Grim, the collier of Damon and Pithias, indicates in his talk with the pages that he is far from being an honest man (pp. 69-78); the same may be said of another coal-dealer - Tom Collier of Like Will to Like (ll. 161-4). Tenacity, in The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality, is portrayed as an 'old, sparing, covetous, niggard' countryman; he might as well be named Avarice, for such is his main defect. This is clearly shown when, pleading to Lady Fortune for the guardianship of her son Money, he promises her:

Chill vow to thee, so long as life shall dure,
Under strong locke and key, chil keep him
vast and sure.
(ll. 426-7)

The figure and the rustic speech of Mother Croote in All for Money recall Bale's portrait of Idolatry in Three Laws; yet, whereas the latter gives up her dialect after two attempts (p. 16 and p. 17), the former employs it consistently. Mother Croote's rustic speech triggers the audience's expectations of a harmless and gentle soul, an image usually associated with old countrywomen.⁷⁰ As her story unfolds, however, the audience sees its anticipated image being tarnished on realizing that the countrywoman is corrupt (ll. 1215-95).

All these characters' rustic speech reinforce the comic qualities also indicated by other devices - linguistic and non-linguistic. For instance, those employed in the portrayal of Ignorance in the 'Wit plays' are laughable because they stress the character's stupidity and its effects on those who interact with him. The other Ignorance of Enough Is as Good as a Feast is also made to speak dog Latin (ll. 1265-8); Greedy-Gut enters the scene running and falls (p. 224); Grim is tricked by the two pages who shave and rob him (pp. 79-84); Tom Collier sings and dances with Lucifer and the Vice (ll. 169-88); Tenacity cuts a poor figure on horseback as described by Postilion:

Looke forth and see, a lubber, fat, great, and tall,
Upon a tyred asse, bare, short, and small.
(ll. 202-3)

and Mother Croote punctuates her speech with malapropisms: 'conclare' instead of 'declare' (l. 1233); 'conclout' instead of 'conclude' (l. 1235); 'pervenient' instead of 'convenient' (l. 1247) etc. Thus, by amusing the audience, the authors of the interludes in which these characters appear first trap it into misunderstanding the evil hidden by their comic appearances, and then, supply it with clues for recognition of their true nature.

Interlude-writers could also employ rustic idiom to involve the audience in a more direct way, without making use of humour as a vehicle for their serious aims. This is done through the characters of People in Respublica and Tenant in Enough Is as Good as a Feast. People, the representative of the oppressed Commonwealth, is severe, blunt and dignified in spite of his rustic speech and manners. He does not hesitate to answer his superior Oppression when the latter refuses him permission to think:

Yes, by Jiss, but 'ch'll lo; nay, ho there! thought
is free,
And a cat, they zaith, may look on a king, pardee!
(IV. 4. 1208-9)

Tenant, however, portrayed as a poor old man, is a pathetic figure. Evicted from his house through his landlord's ambition, he confides his helplessness to the audience:

Alaz, alaz, to whom should I make my moan?....
O masters, is not this even a lamentable thing,
To see how landlords their poor tenants do wring?
(11. 970, 981-2)

His rustic speech emphasizes the significance of these and the previous lines (ll. 971-80), as it marks him off as a representative of the country people, facing a pressing contemporary problem which was beyond them to solve.

By the skilful manipulation of rustic speech, then, interlude-writers could engage their audience in different ways. They could make it sympathize with the good, naïve, engagingly comic characters which conformed to the conventional image of country people. Playwrights could also frustrate their audience's anticipations, and surprise it with evil rustic characters; or they could invite it to become involved

with the plight of such serious characters as People and Tenant. However it was used, rustic speech would contribute to the spectators' participation, for it kept them alert by its dialectal peculiarities contrasting with the flow of standard English. Rustic idiom, then, belongs with the other linguistic devices considered in this chapter in helping to convey the ideas of familiarity and contemporaneity to the audience.

2.7 The Use of Latin

In the sixteenth century, Latin was still the common means of communication among cultivated Europeans, the language of learning - in spite of the growing importance of Greek and the vernaculars - and, moreover, the language of the Catholic Church. In England, the relevance of Latin was affected by contradictory attitudes brought about by historical circumstances. In using Latin in their plays, interlude-writers could rely on well-defined emotional expectations on the part of their audiences long accustomed to associating this language with spiritual, ethical, and erudite matters. These expectations were coloured by the Reformation and its consequences, thus allowing playwrights to manipulate the use of Latin to elicit different responses.

Before the Reformation, Latin was the 'language of moral authority', being first the vehicle for the teachings of the Catholic religion, and, secondly, the vehicle for the ideas of the ancient writers whose works were being revived during the Renaissance. The interludes of this time, in their portrayal of the struggle between the Virtues and the Vices, use Latin as one of their methods in conveying that struggle. Latin is used by the Virtues to edify, and by the Vices to deride. When

England turns away from Catholicism, however, Latin 'becomes a language to be revered as the foundation stone of sound education and at the same time abominated as "the rags of Rome"'.⁷¹ Thus, in post-Reformation interludes, the use of Latin takes a new turn: though it could still be seriously employed as a means towards edification, it could also be comically employed as a means of burlesque and satire of Catholicism.

The use of Latin, besides capitalizing on the audience's emotional expectations, forced upon it an intellectual participation as well. Though long familiar to the majority of Englishmen, this language was only spoken by a minority; thus, the strangeness of a foreign tongue in the middle of a stream of English words 'effectively cuts off the passive audience response and ensures that the audience tries actively to understand what is going on',⁷² looking for other signals to be able to follow the story. It can then be suggested that, whenever they employed Latin, dramatists imposed on the spectators a creative participation more careful and attentive than usual in their attempt to understand this half familiar, half strange language.

The Prologue of Jack Juggler begins his speech with the following lines:

Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis,
Ut possis animo quemvis sufferre laborem.
Do any of you know what Latin is this?
Or else would you have an Expositorem
To declare it in English per sensum pla-
niorem?
(p. 3)

The author may either be satirizing the vogue of introducing Latin sentences in prologues, or merely teasing his audience. The relevant

point for this discussion, however, is the fact that he poses the question of how much knowledge of Latin on the part of the audience dramatists could take for granted. The obvious answer would be that it depended on the audience. In the case of most interludes the answer cannot be so simple for two main reasons: first, the close contact kept between the plays of the professional companies and those performed under court and school auspices; second, the lack of information concerning the staging of the interludes in general.

A typical illustration of the above problem is supplied by Mankind, until very recently considered a popular play written for a rural audience. This view has been questioned by Lawrence M. Clopper, who claims that the author had in mind primarily an educated audience, basing his assumption on his study of the Latin used in the interlude. According to him, 'most of the Latin citations are puns or involve witty mistranslations, and there is a large body of citations which convey the "moralitas". These passages require an understanding of Latin if one is to appreciate the humor and comprehend the message of the play'.⁷³ Though Clopper's point is well argued, a reading of the text will suggest that his last assertion is not entirely correct. There is no doubt that an understanding of the Latin quotations would certainly enhance one's enjoyment of the play on both the humorous and serious levels. Yet, there is no reason to affirm that illiterate spectators could not apprehend the message and the humour of the play. Mercy's address to the 'sovereigns that sit' and the 'brothern that stand right up' (l. 129) implies that the author expected a mixed audience, as Clopper himself recognizes, though he interprets the 'standing brothern' as referring to the servants of the aristocratic household.⁷⁴ The conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that the author of Mankind like most

interlude-writers who did not translate their Latin sentences, did not demand from his audience that it should be able to understand these passages, since they are not integral parts of the story-line of the play. He only hoped that a minority of spectators would be able to appreciate his erudition.

The attitude of authors towards the use of Latin, and their efforts to make it understood by audiences, vary. Like the author of Mankind, the authors of Damon and Pithias and The Tide Tarrieth No Man⁷⁵ scatter several Latin quotations in their texts, and leave them untranslated. Others, like Thomas Lupton, are rather inconsistent: All for Money presents instances of both translated and of untranslated quotations. On the other hand, using a technique common in popular preaching, Lewis Wager quotes a Latin sentence and then translates it in The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene; and W. Wager does the same with Discipline's Latin quotations in The Longer Thou Livest. On the basis of the varied ways of inserting Latin into the plays it is possible to assume that dramatists were more interested in conveying the implications of the use of Latin by certain types of characters than in the meaning of their sentences.

The use of Latin is not restricted to a certain group of characters like the use of rustic dialect: all characters employ it to achieve different effects. When Latin is used by the Virtues and serious figures, its aim is towards the edification of the audience. Playwrights took advantage of this language's strong spiritual and ethical connotations to lend weight to their characters' statements. Thus, Latin is not only found in the register of Deus Pater who, in two plays by Bale, expresses Himself in a few Latin sentences,⁷⁶ but also in the speech

of a great number of Virtues and virtuous characters, for the same edifying purposes.⁷⁷ In these cases, even if the audience failed to understand the meaning, it responded with the emotion - the Latin words and the respectable figures who uttered them would evoke a preaching situation and atmosphere.

The Vices, who occasionally cite Latin with apparently pious intentions, also use it to ridicule the Virtues' Latinate speech, and undermine its moral content. For instance, in Mankind, Now-a-days asks Mercy to translate English obscenities into Latin (ll. 128-31), challenging him:

Now, open your satchel with Latin words,
And say me this, in clerical manner!
(ll. 132-3)

Another technique used by the Vices to ridicule the Virtues' Latin citations is to comment on them with derision. In Mankind, New Guise tells Mercy:

Ay, ay! your body is full of English Latin.
I am afraid it will burst!
(ll. 123-4)

In Hickscorner, Contemplation's Latin sentence

....'Qui est in inferno nulla est redemptio':
Holy Job spake these words full long ago.
(p. 152)

cap

immediately provokes Freewill's irreverent answer:

Nay, I have done; and you laid out Latin with
scope,
But therewith can you clout me a pair of boots?
(p. 152)

And the same derogatory reaction is found in Albion Knight; when Justice quotes

Another way Protestant dramatists used to attack Catholicism was by making the Vices parody the Latin words of the ritual.⁷⁹ This technique is favoured by Bale in both Three Laws and King John. In the first, there is a parodic version of a prayer delivered by Infidelity (II. p. 25) as has already been mentioned; in the second the Vices Dissimulation and Sedition sing a parody of the litany:

Dissimulation (singing). Sancte Dominice, ora
pro nobis!
Sedition (singing). Sancte pyld monache, I beshrow vobis!
Dissimulation (singing). Sancte Francissê, ora pro nobis!
(I. p. 22)

The whole force of this attack derives from the fact that it is the papist characters themselves who are made to parody their own ritual.⁸⁰ Also, in Lewis Wager's *The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene*, the Vice

Infidelity enters the scene parodying the ritual of the mass:

With heigh down down and downe a down a,
Salvator mundi Domine, Kyrieleyson,
Ite, Missa est, with pipe up Alleluya.
Sed libera nos a malo, and so let us be at one.
(11. 1-4)

Apart from using Latin to ridicule the Virtues and Catholicism, the Vices also use it for the verbal tricks which contribute to their popularity with the audience. Thus, the Vices also manage to ingratiate themselves with the spectators by adopting the language of spiritual and learned matters for comic trivialities. For example, hybridism is one of the Vice's techniques to amuse the audience with Latin. In Mankind, Mischief coins the words 'breadibus', 'horsibus' and 'firibusque' (l. 57); and Nought, the words 'spadibus' (l. 397) and 'headibus' (l. 398); in Respublica, Insolence contributes with the hybrid oath 'by His precious populorum' (V. 8. 1747). Sometimes, the Vice deliberately mistranslates his own quotation, like Sensuality in Medwall's Nature:

Worship, now, in faith; ye say true;
Ye be radix viciorum - root of all virtue.
(p. 70)

Or, like Avarice in Respublica, the Vice may express himself half in English, half in Latin.

What? Now I see honores mutant mores,
But, as seemeth here, raro in meliores.
(V. 6. 1589-90)

As has already been indicated in other instances, the playwright signals to the members of the audience that the hero has succumbed to the Vices by making him adopt peculiarities of their speech. In the present case, the young protagonist employs mock Latin as a verbal

proof of his corrupted state; this happens in Nature when the hero asks Bodily Lust: 'Quid est Latinum propter le stewys?' To make sure the spectators do not miss the linguistic hint, the Vice is made to remark:

What! Latin? Now this of the news;
I heard never this ere:
I trow ye begin to wax shamefaced!
(p. 94)

Besides the Vices, playwrights also make other characters employ Latin for the sake of amusement. In Heywood's The Pardoner and the Friar, there is a humorous situation in which the Friar, struggling with the Pardoner to attract the attention of the divided congregation, quotes a most appropriate Latin sentence, and to make sure its message is not wasted, translates it accordingly:

'Maledictus qui audit verbum Dei negligenter' -
Woe be that man, saith our Lord, that giveth
no audience,
Or heareth the Word of God with negligence.
(p. 15)

Yet, the most effective use of Latin for comic effects is achieved when playwrights put this language of learning on the lips of their low characters. The resultant audience amusement might be supported by the speakers' attempts to grapple with a language they are not familiar with. It is also worth noticing that, in most cases, dramatists try to justify the Latin quotations of their uneducated figures for the sake of consistency in characterization.⁸¹

In Respublica, Peopple embarks on a Latin sentence: 'ch' a heard our parish clerk say Divum este, Juslum weste' (IV. 4. 1129). The justification and the incorrect Latin make the citation appropriate

to the character. The same 'justification technique' is found in The Pedlar's Prophecy: before uttering his Latin sentence, the Pedlar explains that he had found it in a 'booke of latin' (l. 680). On the other hand, there is no explanation for the Latin spoken by Thersites. He surprises both the audience and Mulciber who comments:

What, fellow Thersites, do ye speak Latin now?
(Thersites, p. 196)

Playwrights also take advantage of the incongruity suggested by the use of Latin by women. The lazy Dalilah, who plays truant and hates school, takes Iniquity by surprise with a Latin quotation (l. 165):

Peace, Dalilah; speak ye Latin, poor fool?
(l. 166)

To which she retorts,

No, no, but a proverb I learned at school -
(Nice Wanton, l. 167)

In the same way, the Man-Cook of The Disobedient Child makes fun of the Maid-Cook's efforts to remember the Latin she had learned at school (p. 284).

There are other characters who use Latin for amusement's sake in unique ways. For example, the drunken, stammering Hance of Like Will to Like - a scholar before his degradation - adds to his comic personality by mistranslating a Latin word according to his obvious inclinations:

Omni po po po tenti, all the po po pot is empty.
(l. 473)

And Simplicity, in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London, uses

scraps of Latin grammar in a most peculiar way:⁸²

O, singulariter nominativo, wise Lord Pleasure:
genitivo, bind him to that post: dativo, give me my torch:
accusativo, for I say he's a cosener: vocativo, O, give me
room to run at him: ablativo, take and blind me. Plura-
liter per omnes casus,
Laugh all you to see me, in my choler adust,
To burn and to broil that false Fraud to dust.
(p. 500)

There are, nevertheless, examples of Latin being used by low-born characters for serious purposes, with no explanation offered to justify the lack of decorum. Such are the two ploughmen, one in Gentleness and Nobility, and the other in The Longer Thou Livest. In the first play, the Ploughman/ strengthens his argument by quoting three lofty lines in Latin (ll. 851-3); in the second, the character begins his complaint with two Latin sentences (ll. 685-6). In both instances, the seriousness of the situation forbids laughter; thus the spectators must readjust their responses, and look at these characters with serious eyes, disregarding the incongruity between language and speaker.

As the texts of the interludes suggest, dramatists made full use of the strong associations created by Latin throughout the sixteenth century, and employed it for both serious and comic purposes. Even if they could not rely on their audiences' understanding of the language, they could always trust in their general awareness of it - particularly after the Reformation - and in its ability to foster a creative participatory experience by conveying to them a dramatic interpretation of some aspects of their reality.

2.8 The Use of Modern Foreign Languages

The use of foreign languages on the stage is a device found in

the very beginnings of theatrical tradition. Aristophanes makes one of his characters - Pseudartabas - speak 'Persian' in The Acharnians; in the same play, Megarians and Boeotians come to trade with the Greek Dikaiopolos, each using his own language.⁸³ This device is also found in English medieval drama, in which, besides Latin, French is spoken by some messengers or great lords.⁸⁴ Interlude-writers, who used Latin quite frequently from the beginning, were, however, slow to introduce modern foreign languages into their works. They only started employing them from roughly the middle of the sixteenth century, although - as will be seen - occasional foreign phrases and sentences occur in plays dating back to the beginning of the century.

Dramatists in general employ foreign languages as an aid to characterization and as a means to foster comic effects. In the interludes, due to their didacticism and social commitment, their authors also use modern foreign languages as a technique of audience engagement and manipulation. As has already been suggested of Latin, the very strangeness of the foreign tongue would contribute to the audience's alertness by making it pay renewed attention to what was being said. This fact leads us again to the question of how much knowledge of other languages the authors could expect from their public. The examples found in the interludes seem to indicate that they could not take such knowledge for granted. In most cases, in spite of a few foreign words strewn here and there, some odd syntactical constructions, and the imitation of an accent, the characters basically speak broken English or a brogue similar to it, reasonably intelligible to an English audience. Sometimes 'real' foreign languages may have been aimed at, but one cannot really tell from the texts, owing to their poor graphic representation. When, occasionally, a fairly accurate example

appears, the language is employed in a situation that does not prevent those members of the audience unacquainted with it from following the development of the plot.

Although the use of modern foreign languages in the interludes may also contribute to the audience's amusement, it is not, in the majority of cases, used solely for this purpose. The humour is usually crossbred with xenophobia, and the comic characters who speak foreign languages also manage to convey an idea of familiarity and contemporaneity to the audience. In the same way that the Messenger's French in English medieval drama represented the contemporaneous employment of this language as 'officialese', and that 'Herode parle français, car au moyen âge en Angleterre le français est la langue qui révèle un seigneur',⁸⁵ the use of modern foreign languages in the interludes is also designed to remind the audience of some current Anglo-foreign issue. It is no coincidence that French, Spanish and Dutch are the languages used: the first two are associated with political enemies abroad, and the third with economic foes at home. Their use was bound to arouse the anti-foreign sentiments of their audiences, and the authors catered for such conventional expectations by making the speakers of foreign languages either evil or ridiculous. In investigating the employment of foreign languages in the interludes, one has to distinguish between the occasional foreignisms that do not mark the speakers off as foreigners, and the use of foreign languages proper that do - although in the latter instance one has to make a further distinction between the genuine outlander and the feigned one.

As far back as The Castle of Perseverance (1405-1425), French makes a timid incursion into the interludes when the Vice Pleasure,

urging the hero to put on new clothes, exclaims:

Lord, ready!
Je vous prie.
(ll. 636-7)

The association between French and vanity was an old one, and it is not surprising to see the Vice using French words. The Vices of Magnificence also sprinkle their speech with French phrases and sentences. For instance, 'Counterfet' Countenance contributes with 'fayty bone geyte' (l. 441), 'Cloked Colusyon' with 'De que pays este vous?' (l. 748) and 'say vous chanter "Venter tre dawce"?' (l. 750), and Folly with 'regarde, voyes vous' (l. 1198). In King John, Sedition welcomes his friend Dissimulation in French (I. p. 23); the francophile Misrule⁸⁶ of Impatient Poverty sings a French song; Insolence in Respublica is addressed as 'monsieur' by his fellow Vices (I.4. 355 and III.6. 959), and Avarice makes use of 'bon voyage' (II. 3. 603); and Shrewd Wit, on entering the scene, greets the audience of Wealth and Health with 'Dieu vous garde playsaunce' (p. 286).

From the examples quoted above it may be deduced that the use of the language of England's oldest political enemy is a characteristic of the Vices' register. Their use of French might be expected to trigger the audience's association of this language with the long-acknowledged French evils of vanity, pride, and corruption in general. This association could also take on a stronger political colouring in plays like Wealth and Health and, particularly, King John, in which the Vices' French could lead the spectators to regard them as anti-national characters.⁸⁷

The connection between French and evil could also be made when the

hero's use of a few French words functions as a linguistic indicator of his moral decadence. In Wisdom, Understanding manifests his newly-corrupted state by uttering a French phrase (l. 511); and, in Nature, a short dialogue in French between the hero and one of the Vices supports the idea of the former's degradation already signalled by his use of mock Latin earlier in the play:

Man. Et que novellys?
Bodily Lust. Je nescey.
(p. 97)

It is worth noticing that, besides being part of the Vices' and degraded heroes' register, occasional French phrases and sentences also occur in the speech of other vicious characters. Thus, Freewill in Hickscorner greets the audience with 'Dieu garde, seigneurs, tout le preasse' (p. 148); the parasite Sempronio of Calisto and Melibea also greets his master with 'Dieu garde' (p. 51), and his counterpart Eccho in The Glass of Government ventures 'me recomandez' in his speech (II. 5. p. 41); the dishonest collier of Damon and Pithias surprises the pages with his French (p. 74), explaining: 'ich learned this, when ich was a soldier' (p. 74). b

The fact that the Virtues and virtuous characters hardly ever employ foreignisms⁸⁸ strengthens the assumption of the unflattering connotations of foreign languages. There are, however, a few instances in which 'neutral' low characters are allowed to use foreign phrases solely for the sake of amusement. Thus, Gargon, Pride's page in Nature, speaks one line in French (p. 69); Postilion, Prodigality's servant in The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality, after knocking unsuccessfully at the door of an inn, cries in exasperation: 'Tout a la mort?' (I. 2. 61); and Jack, the page of Damon and Pithias 2/

addresses the collier Grim in French (p. 73).

Another modern language occasionally used without signalling the character's nationality is Dutch. In Fulgens and Lucres, 'B' risks a Dutch sentence to introduce the mummers, 'Spiel up tambourine! Ich bid owe prelike!' (pt. II. 390) and, in Magnificence, Courtly Abusion enters the scene singing in Dutch (l. 745). In both cases, the speakers seem to be aiming simply at comic effects.

fre ?
fro

The other use of modern foreign languages in the interludes is as an attribute of foreign characters, genuine or false. As has already been pointed out in the previous chapter, the genuine foreigners of the interludes are very few. Among these, those characterized by the use of a foreign language are even fewer. Hance, the Flemish character of Wealth and Health speaks in a Dutch jargon which is barely understandable on the printed page.⁸⁹ This shortcoming could be easily eliminated in performance, with the actor anglicizing certain words, and using gestures to make Hance's speech intelligible. But, even without being able to follow the character's utterances completely, it would be obvious to the spectators that this Flemish drunkard is an enemy of England, due to the contemptuous treatment he receives from both the Vices and the Virtue. The other Hance of Like Will to Like is perfectly clear in his jargon, despite his stammer:

Be go go Gog's nowns ch ch cha drunk zo zo
much today,
That be be mass ch cham a most drunk ich
da da dare zay.
(ll. 451-2)

The lack of consistency in the rendering of modern foreign languages may be illustrated by the fact that Philip Fleming, Hance's fellow-citizen in the same play, is made to express himself in standard

English (521-33). In the case of these Flemish characters, the foreign accent completed the ridiculous figure of the hated immigrant which they cut on the stage, with their drunkenness, stammer, and enormous bellies.

The emotional responses elicited by the speech of Mercatore in The Three Ladies of London, and Spanish Pride in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London must have been stronger since the social and political associations probably eradicated the comic effects. This would also be true in the case of Caconos in The Conflict of Conscience if one could assert that Nathaniel Woodes had meant his Catholic priest to be Scottish,⁹⁰ for the audience could be led to associate Catholicism with the political threat then posed by Mary Queen of Scots. The spectators of The Three Ladies of London must have had their xenophobic feelings aroused on hearing Mercatore propose international trade harmful to England's economy:

Shall me say you, Madonna, dat me have had
much business for you in hand,
For send away good commodities out of dis little
country England:
Me have now sent over brass, copper, pewter,
and many oder ting,
And for dat me shall ha for gentlewomans fine
trifles, that great profit will bring.
(pp. 304-5)

During the period of the Anglo-Spanish war, Spanish Pride's arrogance spelled out - surprisingly - in Latin (p. 466), and in Spanish, too,

Fuoro Viliagos! fuoro Lutheranos Ingleses!
fuoro, sa, sa, sa!
(p. 474)

was bound to affect the spectators' nationalistic sentiments.⁹¹

The only genuine foreigner whose speech would not provoke patriotic feelings is Montagos of Common Conditions. He is a physician, sympathetic to his daughter's love problems:

Come, Sabia, by and by, and show your father
straight and quick,
In what place in te body you be so sore seek?
My tinke, you have te greta deseza in te belly
and te heda.
By Got's Lord, Sabia! you love te man, me am
afraida.
(p. 225)

First, it is impossible to establish his nationality with certainty since the graphic representation of his language offers no clear hints,⁹² and there is nothing else in the text to suggest it.

Secondly, owing to the romantic nature of the subject, his accent could only bend an exotic touch to his characterization in this multi-setting interlude.

What has to be kept in mind about all the examples so far discussed is the function of the foreign language in keeping the audience aware of the foreignness of the characters. As has already been suggested in the previous chapter, in a theatre which shunned local colour, and dressed all characters from distant places and times in contemporary clothes, the foreign accent or tongue was almost the only means of differentiating the foreigners. It was also the only attribute to be borrowed for the foreigner's disguise, mainly used by the Vices. It is worth remembering that the Vices, in general, are polyglots:

I am well seen, though I say it, in sundry languages meet
for your lordship, or any noble service, to teach divers
tongues and other rare things

says Dissimulation, on offering his services to Pleasure in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (p. 480). As has already been remarked, disguise, being usually practised by the Vices, is synonymous with deceit. This is openly acknowledged by Inclination in The Trial of Treasure, when he finds himself in trouble:

By the body of me, I hold best that I walk,
Or else learn to speak language another
while,
And so I may happen the knaves to beguile,
(p. 221)

and, immediately, he tries to pretend that he is a Frenchman, and this disguise failing, a Dutchman (p. 221). Similar disguises are employed by Ill Will in Wealth and Health, who tries to pass for a Spaniard,

Qury cisis quest is un malt ombre;
Me is un Spyanoardo compoco parlayere.
(p. 303)

by Idleness in The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, who speaks a brogue which defies recognition (ll. 259-60); and by Fraud, who speaks like a Frenchman in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (pp. 438-9). Since the aim of all these disguises is generally evil, one can imagine the connections made in the spectators' minds when one realizes that the languages chosen are French, Dutch, and Spanish. Only rarely is the foreigner's disguise employed without the intention of arousing political associations. This is illustrated by the case of Bomelio in The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune, who disguises himself as a doctor of doubtful nationality - described by Penulo as 'some Spaniard or foreign stranger' (p. 201), and by himself as 'Italian, Neapolitan' (p. 202), though he speaks a mixture of French and Italian (pp. 200-5); and also by Honesty, who, in A Knack to Know a Knave, imitates a Welsh accent to get hold of a coneycatcher (pp. 531-33).

It has been proposed in this subsection that one of the functions of the use of foreign languages as a technique of involving the audience is to keep it alert to the foreignness of the character with all its implications. Yet, besides Philip Fleming, there are a few examples of 'English-speaking foreigners', false and genuine.

Cacurgus, the Vice-like figure of Misogonus, pretends to be an Egyptian doctor to deceive naïve countrywomen. He uses no foreign language: either the author did not know what language Egyptians were supposed to speak, or he simply decided to hand over the problem to the actor, or he deliberately avoided providing the character with a foreign accent for comic purposes. For Carcurgus kept his fool's motley, and managed to convince his victims that it was a foreign attire; thus, the problem of the disguise was hardly solved by costume. In this case, the nationality of the feigned doctor was far from evoking a far-off and exotic place, since the 'Egyptian' spoke standard English and was dressed like an English fool.

In Wilson's The Three Ladies of London, the only foreigner distinguished by a foreign idiom is the Italian Mercatore.⁹³ Simony and Usury originally come from Italy - though in the sequel to this play the latter is said to be a 'London Jew' - but show their acclimatization by speaking fluent English. Nevertheless, the Turkish judge and the Jewish usurer in Turkey also express themselves in standard English. Again, it is possible that the playwright had no idea of the Turkish language and was unwilling to invent one; also, the fact that there were no Jews in England to provide models for Gerontus may be responsible for his lack of a foreign accent.⁹⁴ It must be borne in mind, however, that Wilson's aim is to shock his audience by contrasting the evil of the

Christians with the goodness of the Jews. Gerontus always appears interacting with Mercatore, who already has a foreign accent to stress his bad nature; to endow the Jew with another foreign accent might confuse the audience. One cannot argue that Wilson deliberately set himself to differentiate the two characters by means of a foreign language; after all, one has to remember that Gerontus initiates the career of Jews on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stages, and, all of them are English-speaking.⁹⁵ The fact remains, however, that by keeping only one foreign-speaking character on the stage, and opposing him to an unexpectedly good infidel, the dramatist could make the Italian merchant stand out in his foreignness and evil. The spectators could then - safely - sympathize with the Jew.

In spite of some inconsistencies here it can be generalized that the use of a foreign language - and of occasional foreignisms - is mainly a characteristic of the Vices, vicious and comic characters. Playwrights could rely on the responses that the use of modern foreign tongues would elicit from their audiences owing to their anti-foreign sentiments. Whether occasionally employed in flippant speech, or as a mark of the foreigner, or as a disguise, these languages encouraged the audience's participatory experience. Though they could be used for amusement, in most cases the humour was subservient to their strong associations with some contemporary Anglo-foreign issue.

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In this discussion of the language of the characters, and the playwrights' devices to involve their audiences through familiarity and contemporaneity, a final observation should be made.

The separate treatment of each language topic may obscure the fact that there is more than one technique at work in a single play. That is to say, that it is the combination of a few devices in the same play which fosters and keeps the involvement of the audience, either breaking the dramatic illusion or maintaining it. The same awareness should be extended to the speakers of these linguistic devices. Though some devices - such as asides, proverbs, rustic speech and modern foreign languages - are particularly favoured by the Vices and other vicious and comic figures, others - such as direct address, oaths and Latin - are employed by all characters. It should also be remembered that the morally unstable hero may share most of these devices. Thus the task of engaging and manipulating the spectators is carried out by all characters, although some of them, because of their natural closeness to the audience, work harder at it. In short one has to think of each interlude separately to be able to visualize how the audience could be engaged - and kept involved - by the variety of linguistic contrivances employed in different ways by different characters.

3. The Language of the Actors

The effectiveness of the verbal devices which have been discussed would not have been achieved without that intermediary between the author and the audience, the actor. He was largely responsible for the involvement of the spectators by encouraging them to respond as self-conscious participants in the playmaking experience.

Judging by the acting demands implied in the plays, interlude-writers must have been very much aware of the qualities of their performers.⁹⁶ Thus, the Prologue of Clyomon and Clamydes, talking

about the author's work, acknowledges the importance of the actors' function as vehicles when he says:

Well, what he hath done for your delight, he
gave not me in charge,
The Actors come who shall expresse the same
to you at large.
(ll. 18-19)

To express what the author had written for the audience's delight meant, for the Tudor player, to use the text not as 'a high wire from which the actor is in danger of falling,' but as 'a trampoline from which he constantly springs and returns'.⁹⁷ This may imply that, to the authors' language, he added a language of his own.

As the texts themselves suggest, the Tudor actor was expected to be an extremely versatile artist: 'singing, dancing, fencing, wrestling, acrobatics were all essential skills required of him in addition to those of mimicry, rhetoric, and repartee'.⁹⁸ The technique of doubling, originating from the limited number of actors in travelling troupes, also demanded qualities of versatility from the professional player. Although the emphasis of this investigation will be on the professional actors, a few words must be said about the child players. The boys' groups worked under much less strain, and had more resources, than the adult companies. This means that doubling was less necessary,⁹⁹ and the boy actor did not have to go through the rather exhausting task of changing roles. Certain skills - such as the ability to sing - were emphasized, whereas others - such as the ability to improvise - were played down. Yet, judging by the texts of such interludes as Respublica, Jack Juggler, Tom Tyler and His Wife, and others specially written for children, their skills were not greatly different from those of the adult players.¹⁰⁰

For lack of documentary evidence, little is known about the actual performances of most interludes and, consequently, one must rely on the texts for an insight into the language of the actors. This process will necessarily involve the cautious handling of some conjectures.

Improvisation was the actor's personal way of involving the audience. If this histrionic method was still very common in Elizabethan drama¹⁰¹ one can well imagine that it was even more so in the interludes, since most of their authors did not subscribe to the idea of the self-contained play. Unfortunately, one type of improvisation - that which was the immediate product of the actors' professional intuition - is irremediably lost with their performances. The other type - that which was proposed by the authors themselves - can only be partially recovered from a reading of the texts.

The degree of confidence that the interlude-writer placed in his actors can be measured by the frequent stage directions in which he asks them to extemporize. This is really the moment in which more than any other the text becomes 'a trampoline' from which the performer springs. As early as Mankind, one finds at the end of Mischief's speech:

When a man is for-cold the straw may be
brent;
And so forth, etc.
(11. 61-2)

The use of 'etc' in the text suggests improvisation, and this use is paralleled by many occurrences in the Elizabethan drama.¹⁰² Other examples in which the actors are asked to speak extempore may be quoted: in the fragment of The Prodigal Son the stage direction reads:

'Here the servant cometh in spekyng some straunge language' (ll. 52-3); in Ralph Roister Doister, the actor playing the eponymous hero is instructed at the end of a scene: 'Here let him tell her a great, long tale in her ear' (I. 3); in All for Money, Lupton tells the actor who plays the Vice: 'Here the Vice shall turn the proclamation to some contrary sense every time All-for-Money hath read it, and here followeth the proclamation' (before l. 908); as a final example, may be cited the stage direction which follows Discipline's speech in The Longer Thou Livest (ll. 429-32): 'Here let Moros between every sentence say "gay gear", "good stuff", "very well", "fin-ado", with such mockish terms'. In spite of the proposed comments, the author still leaves room for the actor to exercise his extemporizing power.

The above examples are mainly concerned with verbal improvisation. There are other stage directions in which the actor is called upon to improvise fights,¹⁰³ and such actions as Lentulo's 'dumb-show' in The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune: 'Enter Lentulo with a ring in his mouth, a marigold in his hand, a fair suit of apparel on his back; after he hath a while made dumb-show, Penulo cometh' (p. 219). One also realizes that the actor's skill at facemaking could be required when one reads the following instruction in The Four Elements: 'Then he singeth this song and danceth withal, and evermore maketh countenance according to the matter; and all the others answer likewise' (p. 47). Though it can be argued that the ability to simulate fights, and skill in mimicry and grimaces are qualities which should be possessed by good actors in general, the examples above reinforce the assumption that much in the action was left to the discretion of the actor himself, and that the authorial control of the plays was kept within limits. For, as has been asserted, the Tudor performer worked in a theatre in which

the writer was indispensable 'but always the servant or the partner of the actor, never his master'.¹⁰⁴

Another type of improvisation which deepened the actor-audience relationship was the exchange of ad lib remarks between performers and spectators. It is important to bear in mind that this freedom of the actor is at the core of the popular theatre tradition; for 'if the audience is restive, then it is obviously more important to holler at the trouble makers - or improvise a gag - than to try to preserve the unity of the style of the scene'.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, this histrionic technique, owing to its very nature was ever changing, and lost with every performance. One can only speculate about its effectiveness, and guess at the kind and intensity of the audience's response to such treatment. Due to the governing conventions of audience engagement and manipulation adopted by most interlude-writers, and the physical conditions of staging the plays, with no barriers between the players and their public, 'it would have been extraordinary if frequent ad lib exchanges were not a common occurrence in the course of performances'.¹⁰⁶ To be able to exchange ad lib remarks with the audience required skilful manipulation of its members since 'extemporal jesting could easily turn into a scolding match'.¹⁰⁷ That is why the Tudor player had to be quick-witted and an expert at repartee.

In these exchanges between actors and audience the full meaning of intimacy and familiarity would be achieved. To the improvisation of dialogues the players could bring a great deal of contemporaneity. Topical allusions would probably abound, and the two worlds - of the play and of reality - would be merged. It is difficult for someone living in the twentieth century, when the predominant illusion of isolation of the actors on the stage tends to displace any sense of the presence

of the audience, to imagine the freedom of the interaction between interluders and spectators. The nearest equivalent is, perhaps, the English pantomime, in which the performers, with their extempore remarks, get both collective and individual answers from their public.

One expects to find this kind of behaviour when the relations between players and audience are intimate and relaxed. One aspect of this relationship may be illustrated by the interlude scene in The Book of Sir Thomas More. In this scene, Sir Thomas More takes the place of the actor who left the hall in search of a beard, and improvises the part. Of course the main concern of the author was to endow *his main* character with the attributes - wit, sense of humour, histrionic ability - he was famous for, and the players' scene provided a good opportunity for him to display them. Yet, this scene suggests the facility with which spectators could enter the play's world, and extemporize with the actors. It further suggests - what is easily understood - that the contribution of the audience was not always necessary. As the character Thomas More himself acknowledges:

Prepare against we come: Lights there I say,
thus fooles oft times doo help to marre the play.
(11. 1145-6)

The audience of this interlude scene was an aristocratic one and provides a good example of the statement that 'it was the common fate of plays given at feasts to be interrupted by spectators' change of plan; and hired players might be turned off and on again like gramophone records'.¹⁰⁸ One wonders, though, whether a popular audience at an ordinary performance would be more restrained. Owing to the constant appeals for its involvement, its members might have felt perfectly entitled to participate more than merely emotionally

The author seems to leave the choice of the songs to the actors, for the stage direction simply reads: 'The first song'. This freedom seems to support the hypothesis that the members of the audience were also asked to sing. The actors would presumably choose a popular tune, thus, perhaps, encouraging the spectators to join them. At the end, Cruelty praises his fellow-singers, who could be both actors and spectators - 'Well handled, by the mass, on every side' (II. 3. p. 191) - and the play closes with the loose stage direction: 'The second song' (p. 202), which might be manipulated in the same way.

It is more common, however, to have the songs provided by the author. Lack of evidence makes it impossible to know whether these songs were specially written for the interludes, or whether the dramatists simply borrowed popular tunes of the time. If the latter, the players would have no difficulty in provoking the audience to sing. If the former, the provision of simple tunes would similarly make possible the audience's participation, as, for example the song in Like Will to Like, sung by Nichol Newfangle as he poses as a pedlar:

Trim merchandise trim, trim, trim merchandise,
trim, trim'
(l. 896)

The stage direction which follows the tune - 'He may sing this as oft as he thinketh good' - may imply that the repetition of the tune would be dependent on the degree of the participation of the audience. That the Vice could easily induce spectators to sing with him may be suggested by the fact that he was supposed to be close to them, as prescribed in a previous stage direction: 'Here entreth in Nichol Newfangle, and bringeth in with him a bag, a staff, a bottle, and two halters, going about the place showing it unto the audience and singeth this' (before l. 896).

In reading a play, one has to bear in mind that there are theatrical effects which are not verbal, and have to be imaginatively rehearsed to do the dramatic text justice - Nichol Newfangle's physical involvement with the audience being one of them. The same reconstruction is required in The Pride of Life when the Messenger whom the King of Life sends through the world to find Death conducts his search among the spectators.¹¹⁰ The frequency of this physical involvement between performers and spectators can only be partially measured by the times it is indicated in the texts, for there are grounds for supposing that it was even more common than the texts suggest. In this histrionic technique to involve the audience, one notices the facility with which actors emerge out of the real world and step into the world of the play, and vice-versa. This two-way traffic between stage and audience provides further evidence for the loose boundaries separating performers and spectators, and for the actors' own contribution to inhibit the spectators' role as mere onlookers.

The cry of 'room' with which the Vice usually steps out of the world of the audience into the playing area provides the linguistic indicator of this type of physical involvement. In Mankind, the author uses this device after the action is well on the way: it is only in their second entrance that the three Vices force their way through the spectators:

New Guise. Make space! for Cock's body sacred,
make space!
(1. 613)

Now-a-days. Stand, aroom! I pray thee, brother mine
(1. 632)

Nought. Avaunt, knaves! Let me by!
(1. 637)

Pleading like New Guise and Now-a-days or insulting like Nought, the fact

that the Vices emerged out of the audience - the Virtues never did - could add dramatic meaning to the performance. Firstly, the spectators would be in the embarrassing situation of having the agents of evil among themselves. Secondly, in the process of reaching the stage, the actor would have plenty of opportunities to improvise - words and gestures - or embark on ad lib exchanges with members of the audience. Sometimes, playwrights could give the Vice a more extravagant entrance. Such is the case of No-Lover-Nor-Loved in A Play of Love, who is instructed to come in 'running suddenly about the place among the audience with a high coppintank on his head full of squibs fired crying "Water, water, fire, fire, fire, water, water, fire", till the fire in the squibs be spent' (before l. 1312).

Nevertheless, it is not only the Vices that come from the world of the audience. Medwall exploits this device in Fulgens and Lucres by making the servants 'A' and 'B' begin the play as spectators - with the latter vehemently denying he is a player (pt. I. 49-51) - before they decide to take part in it. At other times, interlude-writers provide both the Vices and low characters with reasons to ask for room and make their way through the spectators. For instance, the Vice Subtle Shift cries for room as part of his function as a wiffler in Clyomon and Clamydes, opening the way for the royal procession (ll. 1677-9 and ll. 1692-3). Similarly, the character Provision in Horestes has to make room for Idumeus and his fellow-kings. Provision treats the audience as if it were crowding to see royalty:

Make rounge and gyve place, stand backe there
a fore,
For all my speakinge, you presse styll the more.
Gyve rome I saye quickeley, and make no
dalyaunce,
It is not now tyme, to make aney taryaunce:
The kinges here do com, therefore give way,
Or elles by the godes, I will make you, I saye.
(ll. 1102-7)

In Impatient Poverty the Sumner cries for room so that Poverty, candle in hand, can do his penance about the place:

Room, sirs! avoidance!
That this man may do his penance.
(p. 344)

And, in The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality, the ~~character~~ Tipstaves clears the way for the Judge to enter the scene (l. 1244).

Judging by the stage directions and indications in the dialogue, the movement from the stage to the audience was also a common one, fostering the participation of the latter and giving actors the same opportunities to extemporize on the way. As early as Wisdom (1450-1500), Lucifer, after saying, 'Wyth this fals boy, God gyff hym evell grace' (l. 550), is instructed by the following stage direction: 'Her he takyt a shrewde boy with hym and goth hys wey cryenge'. In Mankind, the dialogue makes it clear that the Vices leave the stage and collect money from the members of the audience so that the devil Titivillus may appear (ll. 456-69). This means that, in this interlude, the Vices particularly engage in a free movement between the stage and the audience in both ways. Another Vice who moves from the playing area to join the spectators is Nichol Newfangle in Like Will to Like. Besides showing them his merchandise when acting as a pedlar (s.d. before l. 896), he is supposed to enter the scene with a knave of clubs in his hand, and offer it to 'one of the men or boys standing by' (s.d. before l. 37). There is also an instance of the Vice crying for room to leave the stage as Common Conditions does in the play that bears his name:

Room for a turncoat! that will turn as the wind.
(p. 203)

Again, it is not only the Vices that leave the stage to mix with the members of the audience. In the fragmentary The Prodigal Son the dialogue implies that the Son (Filius) should offer his goods to the spectators. The sentence 'wyl ye by any faggottes?' is repeated three times (l. 5, l. 12 and l. 25), punctuating the words exchanged between the Wife (Uxor) and the Father (Pater). A similar scene is found in a similar play - Thomas Ingelend's The Disobedient Child. The Husband, ordered to sell faggots by his shrewish wife addresses, and/ presumably approaches someone in the audience:

Ho, thou good fellow, which standest so nigh,
Of these heavy bundles ease my sore back,
And somewhat therefore give me by and by,
Or else I die, for silver I do lack.
(p. 304)

In Wit and Science, the young would-be scholar must leave the acting area and hold up his glass to members of the audience (ll. 823-4) in order to compare his face with theirs. In Johan Johan, the actor playing the hero asks one of the spectators to keep his gown (ll. 251-2); noticing that he is too near the door and 'might run away', Johan snatches it from him, and hands it to another who appears to be 'trusty and sure' (ll. 253-6).¹¹¹ The degree of intimacy between stage and audience is such that the hero asks the keeper of his gown: 'whyle ye do nothyng skrape of the dyrt' (l. 258). This degree of intimacy reaches a climax in Jack Juggler, when Jenkin Careaway looking for Jack among the spectators comments:

I cannot well find a knave by the savour;
Many here smell strong, but none so rank as he:
(p. 32)

Judging by the boldness of the remark, it is possible to imagine the

actor playing Careaway going among the audience with appropriate business. With this intimacy allowed to him by the authors, the players might be expected to use it as a stepping board towards similar jokes with the public.

In some of the interludes presented under private auspices the physical involvement between performers and spectators could allow a more delicate treatment. If M.C. Bradbrook is correct, Prodigality ends a song in The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality showering the audience with 'buttercups'.¹¹² And, although one cannot be absolutely certain whether The Cobbler's Prophecy was ever presented at court¹¹³ the method of audience involvement is the same. After the line 'And Ceres sheds her sweetest swetes in plentie' (l. 41), the goddess, instructed by the stage direction, casts comfits to the audience - 'that while ye stay their pleasure may content ye' (l. 43). One may, therefore, conclude that, in whatever form the physical involvement between interluders and spectators was handled, it served to underline the fact that the relationship between the two was easy and relaxed, thus allowing the players the freedom and the occasions to act extempore.

The examples discussed so far illustrating types of verbal and non-verbal involvement of the actors with the audience give a few indications of the contribution of the players to the total meaning of the dramatic experience. At the beginning of this chapter it was suggested that intimacy, spontaneity, and contemporaneity are the main dramatic qualities of the interludes. If the suggestion is right, then it may be said that only the players could determine in what degree of intensity these qualities should be achieved. By continuously encouraging the audience to be potential performers, while they themselves remained

potential spectators, the performers managed to enhance the theatrical impact of the interludes, only partially indicated by the text. For, as has been said, 'the more the public is drawn into the world of the play and the more the play is drawn into the real world, the more the essence of the plays is brought out in the course of performance. The relationship between actor and audience is, therefore, not only a constituent element of dramaturgy, but of dramatic meaning as well'.¹¹⁴

4. The Language of the Playwrights

Not content to make his characters and players engage the audience, the interlude-writer in general also added to it by himself addressing the spectators outside the framework of the play. This was often done obliquely through figures named 'Prologues' and 'Epilogues', though there are authors who chose to speak to their audiences directly.

In the interludes, prologues and epilogues are devices which, like many others, contribute to the total process of audience engagement; they are not, as in the later drama, the only link between the real and the imaginary worlds.¹¹⁵ Yet with so many other techniques at their disposal to attract the audience's participation, authors still supplement them by using stage-orations at the beginning and at the end of their plays. It is true that these orations are not always found, but their presence greatly outnumbers their absence.

Prologues are, generally speaking, longer, more common, and more varied than epilogues. They are particularly important for this investigation for 'a study of the beginnings of plays is also a study of the relations existing between the author and the audience of a certain period'.¹¹⁶ A look at the prologues of the interludes will not

only suggest that the dramatist personally tried to enlist the audience's cooperation in the action of putting on a play, but it will also indicate the means he used to ensure this cooperation, which reveals the kind of relationship he maintained with his public.

Though it is obvious that the prologue carries the author's personal message to the audience, most writers engage a speaker - the Prologue, sometimes the Messenger - to speak on their behalf. This prologuist usually refers to 'our author' or 'our poet' to convey to the audience that he himself is only a spokesman for the author's words. Writers like John Bale and George Gascoigne, however, see no need for such an intermediary and speak boldly in the first person. The former openly acknowledges his part by having 'Baleus Prolocutor' printed in his plays; the latter, though having the word 'Prologue' before his speech, proudly justifies the choice of a moral subject in the first person:

I lyst not so to misbestowe mine arte,
I have best wares, what neede I then shewe woorse?
(The Glass of Government, p. 6)

The author of Misogonus, however, undecided whether to use the first person or give his words to the Prologue, not only begins the oration in his own name (ll. 1-2), but also enlists the services of a speaker (ll. 13-20), as well as of one actor in the company (ll. 37-44).

Dramatists use their prologues for several purposes which are not mutually exclusive. Generally they put forward their didactic intentions, give a summary of the argument, present a personal defence of their choice of subject or an apology for their lack of literary skill. Yet,

from the viewpoint of audience engagement, the dominant purpose of the prologue lies in its employment as an instrument to motivate the audience. By exhorting it, arousing its curiosity, or simply by taking it into his confidence, the author initiates the process of its participatory experience, which is, then, handed over to the actors.

Mary Crapo Hyde, contrasting the conventional beginnings of the classical comedies of Plautus and Terence with those of the early English interludes, comes to the conclusion that 'the influence of the Christian Church over the drama has, momentarily at least, curbed the spectators' animal spirits, and given the author the loftiness of the Word of God. Playwrights are not found humbly pleading for a gentle hearing; they are preachers convinced of their right to deliver a sermon'.¹¹⁷ Basically, most interlude-writers, who regarded themselves as guardians and sharers of the interests of the Commonwealth, were 'convinced of their right to deliver a sermon'. Yet, this right is neither openly claimed nor blatantly expressed in the prologues, as the above quotation might imply. On the whole, the writers' attitude to their audiences is never authoritarian. The only instance in which the authorial oration inclines this way is when Gascoigne dismisses those spectators who might have been looking for pleasant sport in The Glass of Government:

Playne speache to use, if wanton be your wyll,
You may be gone, wyde open standes the porte.
(p. 6)

Among the earliest interludes only the Prologue in The Pride of Life seems convinced of his right to deliver a sermon:

Nou beith in pes and beith hende,
And distourbith nought oure place,
(ll. 109-10)

Interlude-writers may be preachers, but they preach gently. They address the spectators in their prologues as 'congregation', 'honest auditors', 'good audience', 'good, gentle audience', 'right gentle audience', 'worshipful audience', 'noble presence', etc. Even Bale, with all his stern religious zeal, softens his terms when speaking to his audience as can be illustrated by his prologue in God's Promises:

If profit may grow, most Christian audience....
You, therefore, good friends, I lovingly exhort
(p. 85)

After reading a series of prologues in the interludes one realizes that the author's attitude to his public, though humble and courteous, is never subservient. They mainly ask for silence and good will:

Desiring your leave and quiet silence
(The Disobedient Child, p. 269)

Whereto we crave your silence and good will,
(Tom Tyler and His Wife, p. 291)

and also for patience,

We pray you of patience, while we it recite
(Jacob and Esau, p. 188)

Craving that this may suffice now, your
patience to win:
(Cambises, p. 165)

They hope

No man to displease, old nor young;
(Impatient Poverty, p. 347)

and openly acknowledge that

To please all men is our author's chief desire,
Wherefore mirth with measure to sadness is
annexed,
(Like Will to Like, ll. 28-9)

though some authors are aware of

....how hard a thing it is,
Of sundry mindes to please the sundry kindes.
(Liberality and Prodigality, ll. 2-

Playwrights also voice their fear of giving offence, which is another
way of saying they want to please their public:

And our poet trusteth the thing we shall recite
May without offence the hearer's minds delight.
(Respublica, ll. 7-8)

Some go as far as the author of The Tide Tarrieth No Man who asks,
after hoping that his story will please the audience:

But if any fault be, he humbly requireth
That due intelligence thereof he may have,
(ll. 52-3)

The fear of giving offence, though imparted to the spectators at large
is specifically directed to those in power who could bring trouble
to the dramatist. Thus, the Prologue in New Custom asks the 'worshipful
audience'

To take in good part without all manner offence,
Whatsoever shall be spoken, marking the intent,
Interpreting it no otherwise but as it was meant.
(p. 160)

And the Prologue of Respublica pleads likewise:

....let this be taken no worse than it is meant,
And I hope nor we nor our poet shall be shent.
(ll. 13-14)

It may be concluded, then, that through their prologues interlude-writers tell us that their relationship with the audience was respectful but easy, being strained only with those members who were actual or potential censors.

If playwrights, through prologues, managed to motivate the audience and induce its participation in the playmaking process, through epilogues they ensured that this cooperation was maintained to the very end. In self-contained plays, with their less participant spectators, epilogues were used to drive the audience out of the unreal world of the play into the real world. In the interludes, however, where the alternation between illusion and reality is an essential element of the dramaturgy, epilogues served another purpose - mainly a reaffirmation of the importance of the spectators. Once more the audience would be directly, addressed, listening to the author's voice through one of the characters, or through the new figure of the 'Epilogue'. Writers like Bale and Gascoigne would speak to them directly at the end of their plays as they had done at the beginning.

As has already been suggested in a previous chapter, the authors' main intention was to make sure that the audience understood the message of the play, and, like many teachers, they found it necessary to repeat the main points put forward throughout the action in a final reminder. Their other intention was to reassure themselves of the approval of the spectators. Both purposes may be illustrated by Consolation's speech, which ends The Trial of Treasure:

We will now no longer trouble this audience,
Sith somewhat tedious to you we have been;
Beseeching you to bear all things with patience,
And remember the examples that you have seen.
God grant them to flourish lively and green,
That some of us the better therefore may be,
Amen, amen! I beseech the blessed Trinity.
(p. 245)

Unlike prologues, epilogues no longer have to ask for the silence or good will of the public, but must thank it for its attention and patience. Yet it is worth noticing that most of the other appeals voiced in the prologue are also found in the epilogues. As several examples have already been given to suggest the tone and nature of these appeals, one example will suffice in the present case. The epilogue in Cambises is particularly interesting because it includes the commonest pleas of the playwrights in a single speech:

Right gentle audience, here have you perused
The tragical history of this wicked king;
According to our duty, we have not refused,
But to our best intent express'd everything:
We trust none is offended for this our doing.
Our author craves likewise, if he have squared
amiss,
By gentle admonition to know where the fault is.

His good will shall not be neglected to amend the
same;
Praying all to bear therefore with his simple
deed,
Until the time serve a better he may frame:
Thus yielding you thanks, to end we decreed
That you so gently have suffered us to proceed,
In such patient wise as to hear and see:
We can but thank you therefore, we can do no more,
we.

As duty binds us, for our noble queen let us pray,
And for her honourable council, the truth that
they may use
To practise justice, and defend her grace each day;
(p. 247)

It should be observed that, after thanking the public, the epilogue finishes in prayer; a prayer for the sovereign, the council, and, sometimes the nobility and the Commonwealth, is a stock request. On rare occasions epilogues are less moral and solemn. In The Marriage of Wit and Science, the young hero, having achieved his objectives, cheerfully addresses the audience - 'Rejoice, I pray you all with me, my friends, and fare ye well!' (V. 6. 100) - and, in Gammer Gurton's Needle (in one of the rare instances in which it betrays its classical influence) Diccon finishes his epilogue in a typical Roman way, asking the audience for a plaudite (V. 2. 234). On the whole it may be said that epilogues simply confirm the author/audience relationship already suggested in the study of prologues - that is, courteous and humble, but not subservient.

In a theatre in which no principle of verisimilitude forbade an exchange of ideas and confidences between characters, players, and their audiences, it is not surprising that the author himself could enjoy a similar situation. There is, however, a difference to be noticed between the language of these characters and players, and that of the dramatists. It is not exactly a difference of kind but of degree. The language of the characters - mainly the Vices and the vicious and comic figures - and the language of the actors themselves - whether improvising by the command of stage directions or following their own impulses - reached a high degree of familiarity with the spectators. The language of the authors, however, no matter how friendly, had to keep a sort of distant, dignified humility because of their position in Tudor society. As believers in the utilitarian view of art - supported by their society - playwrights could arrogate to themselves the right to preach; as dependents on patrons - whether noblemen or the public

at large - they had an obligation to please. Though playing an important part in the involvement of the audience by inviting it to be co-participant in their plays, interlude-writers could never share with it the same degree of intimacy that they fostered in most of their characters and allowed their performers to achieve.

Pierre Larthomas, writing about the language of the drama, comes to the conclusion that 'l'efficacité du langage dramatique est double: apparente, simulée dans les rapports qui lient les personnages, réelle dans les rapports qui lient l'oeuvre à son public. C'est la seconde, bien entendu, qui, finalement, importe'.¹¹⁸

If one considers the language of the interludes in the light of the above statement one realizes that it deserves more credit than it has been given. In examining the language of the characters, it has been suggested that the use of linguistic devices such as direct address, asides, oaths, dialect and foreign languages not only relates the characters among themselves but also relates them to the audience. The actors, speaking in and out of character, achieve the same dual relationship. The authors themselves contribute to this process by provoking the spectators' willingness to participate imaginatively and emotionally in the play.

To discuss 'les rapports qui lient l'oeuvre à son public', one has to take into account not only the linguistic devices of dramatic speech but also its contents. Thus, to be able to discuss the language of the interludes as a whole, it is necessary to refer to the first chapter of this thesis in which the dramatists' themes and concerns were investigated.

Reasons suggest themselves for the effectiveness of the language of the interludes to communicate with their public. If it is true that 'the theatre' is the place where a nation thinks in front of itself',¹¹⁹ this is particularly true in the case of the interludes. The playwright was not a passive observer of the English scene, but an active participant member of his society. He voiced the hopes, anguish, and complaints of the England of his time, and thought his duty was to preach, exhort, and advise. The audience must have been willingly drawn into the plays, watching its problems acted out on the stage, and listening to topics of the utmost importance in their daily lives discussed aloud. The main difficulties, today, towards an understanding of the fascination that the interludes may have had for their public lie in the fact that twentieth-century English readers have not only lost sight of the cultural context of the sixteenth century, but have also lost contact with the predominantly non-illusory type of theatre it practised for so long. The strength of the interludes in their time - based on the familiarity and contemporaneity of their content and form of delivery - is the main reason for their oblivion nowadays.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. T.W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude (first published, 1958; reprinted, Leicester, 1967) one of the modern scholars who approaches the interludes as plays for performance, is mainly concerned with their staging, costume, and acting, not with their language.
2. J.E. Bernard Jr., in The Prosody of the Tudor Interlude (first published, 1939; reprinted, Hamden, Connecticut, 1969) asserts in the preface that 'the verse of the Tudor interlude must not be merely condemned by our present syllabic criteria as doggerel'. He gives a brief review of older critics who condemn it as such (p. 10, note 38). F.P. Wilson, The English Drama: 1485-1585, edited with a bibliography by G.K. Hunter (Oxford, 1969), pp. 66-74, is a modern scholar who criticizes the monotony of the prosody of the interludes. Bernard Shaw is one of the very few critics to appreciate it. Reviewing Barry Jackson's production of Hickscorner for the Malvern Festival of 1933, he says that he found 'the naïve rhythms of medieval stage poetry much more musical than the euphuistic blank verse of the Elizabethans and post-Elizabethans'. See Shaw on Theatre, edited by E.J. West (first published, 1958; reprinted, New York, 1967), p. 227.
3. Wilson, p. 72.
4. English Moral Interludes (London, 1976), p. v.
5. Bernard, p. 1.
6. Marie Muncaster, 'The Use of Prose in Elizabethan Drama', Modern Language Review, 14 (1919), 10-15 (p. 10), explains the first example of dramatic prose found in Henry Medwall's Nature: 'it was probably an accident, and there appears to be no underlying reason for its use'. She also maintains that it is only with the University Wits that 'there appears to be a definite development of the use of prose in drama' (p. 11). As far as Gascoigne's Supposes is concerned she says that it was compiled from both the prose version (1509) and the verse one of Ariosto's Gli Suppositi (p. 11). Gascoigne's contribution is also evaluated by J.F. MacDonald, 'The Use of Prose in English Drama before Shakespeare', University of Toronto Quarterly, 2 (1933), 465-81. He claims that Gascoigne's adoption of prose in his translation of Supposes was not deliberate but owing to the fact that the Italian original was itself in prose (p. 468); nevertheless, Wilson, The English Drama, p. 114, asserts that Gascoigne's choice was not casual: 'to Gascoigne's credit is that knowing both the prose and the verse versions, he preferred to use prose, so presenting us with the first prose comedy in English'.
7. Bernard, in the preface to his Prosody; this point is dealt with more extensively on pp. 193-5.
8. Bernard, pp. 41-2.
9. David Mayer, 'Towards a Definition of Popular Drama', in Western Popular Theatre, edited by David Mayer and Kenneth Richards (London, 1977), pp. 257-77 (p. 266), has observed that verse, though employed in popular drama, is a secondary consideration; it may be used 'because rhyme is an effective means of presenting doctrine, and because it is easy for performers to learn, remember, and pass on by word of mouth to successive generations of performers'. As far as the interludes are concerned, the

main features of their prosody are stress and rhyme; but as Bernard, pp. 5-6, warns us 'it is necessary for the modern reader to come to the subject of rime with an open ear. Those who wrote the interludes so often made assonance and secular rime take the place of mere rime that separation is valueless. With the realization that four centuries ago words were not pronounced as they are today, that vowels possessed a "brogue" which the metropolitan language has lost, one must come prepared to deal liberally with the vagaries of versification'.

10. Harry Levin, Shakespeare and the Revolution of the Times (New York, 1976), p. 288.
11. T.W. Craik, 'The Tudor Interlude and Later Elizabethan Drama', in Elizabethan Theatre, edited by John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, 9 (London, 1966), pp. 37-57 (p. 39).
12. V.A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford, 1971), p. 110. See also Robert Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, edited by Robert Schwartz (Baltimore and London, 1978), p. 67, discussing the roles of Herod and Pilate on the medieval stage: 'the anachronism of their English social status was accentuated in their speech: in a number of scenes, at Chester and York, for example, Herod speaks Norman French, the language of the feudal court'.
13. Weimann, p. 7.
14. Glynne Wickham, The Medieval Theatre (London, 1974), p. 192.
15. See Erich Auerbach, Mimesis, translated by Willard Trask (New York, 1957), pp. 1-43, for a discussion of the contrasts between the Graeco-Roman and the Hebrew-Christian traditions in their linguistic apprehension of reality.
16. Mimesis, pp. 124-51.
17. I.C. Mitchell, The Idea of Language in English Drama: 1590-1642 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1976), p. 20.
18. Mitchell, p. 46.
19. Glynne Wickham, in his introduction to the play in English Moral Interludes (London, 1976), p. 3. See also Paula Neuss, 'Active and Idle Language: Dramatic Images in Mankind,' in Medieval Drama, edited by Malcolm Bradbury and David Palmer, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, 16 (London, 1973), 41-67 (p. 65).
20. According to Craik, The Tudor Interlude, p. 10, 'there is little evidence that raised platforms were set up in halls for interludes before the second half of the sixteenth century'; he quotes as the only unequivocal example among the interludes the late The Cobbler's Prophecy, which he dates 1594, and Harbage and Schoenbaum, Annals of English Drama, 1590.
21. J.A.B. Somerset, The Comic Turn in English Drama: 1470-1616 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1966), p. 488. On the other hand, Anne Richter, Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 52, gives the date 1550. An exhaustive reading

of the interludes and the early Elizabethan drama until 1592 confirms Somerset's date, though roughly after 1550 direct address gradually becomes restricted to the Vice and low-life characters.

22. Robert Carl Johnson, 'Audience Involvement in the Tudor Interlude', Theatre Notebook, 24 (1970), 101-111 (p. 102).
23. Often the audience is simply addressed as 'folks'. Careaway in Jack Juggler invokes its witness in these terms: 'all these folks knoweth as well as I' (p. 29), and so does the hero of Tom Tayler and His Wife: 'as these folks did see' (p. 318); Gammer Gurton tells Hodge that she had been looking for her needle 'before these folks came here' (Gammer Gurton's Needle, I. 4. 35), and Severity makes a promise to his son 'before these folk' (The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, I. 42).
24. 'Audience Involvement in the Tudor Interlude', p. 110.
25. Weimann, pp. 6-11.
26. Mayer, pp. 262-3.
27. Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play, p. 40.
28. J.L. Styan, Drama, Stage and Audience (London, 1975), pp. 180-223.
29. Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play, p. 52.
30. Johnson, p. 102.
31. See Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, chiefly pp. 135-51, and also, by the same author, 'Shakespeare's Wordplay: Popular Origins and Theatrical Functions', in Shakespeare 1971, edited by Clifford Leech and J.M.R. Margeson. (Toronto, 1972), pp. 230-43 (p. 237), in which the focus of his argument concerning the audience's reaction to wordplay is thus stated: 'while the allegorical figure of Virtue throughout submits to the disciplined imitation of verbal exchange, the Vice does not. On the contrary, his replies (if they may be so called) have a riddling quality of seeming irrelevance which must (like Richard Tarlton's or even Shakespeare's porter's and grave-diggers') have invited the audience to assist in solving the riddling and quibbling allusions'.
32. Righter, p. 56.
33. Shakespeare and the Audience (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), p. 63.
34. 'The Elizabethan Soliloquy - Direct Address or Monologue?', Theatre Notebook, 30 (1976), 12-18.
35. Morris LeRoy Arnold, The Soliloquies of Shakespeare. A Study in Technic (first published, 1911; reprinted, New York, 1965), p. 2.
36. Both Sprague, p. 62, and Carson, p. 12, defend the possibility of a soliloquy being aimed at the audience owing to the intimacy between players and spectators - either in the Elizabethan or in some modern theatres.

37. Jackson J. Cope, The Theater and the Dream. From Metaphor to Form in Renaissance Drama (Baltimore and London, 1973), p.107.
38. V.A. Kolve, 'Everyman and the Parable of the Talents', in Medieval English Drama: Essays Critical and Contextual, edited by Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson (Chicago and London, 1972), pp. 316-40 (p. 328).
39. Glynne Wickham, Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage (London, 1969), p. 33.
40. Sprague, pp. 67-8.
41. Sprague, p. 68.
42. In the edition prepared by G.R. Proudfoot for the Malone Society (1972 for 1967), the asides, reproduced as in the original text, are not indicated by stage directions. These have been supplied by another editor: see Johan Johan in Tudor Plays: an Anthology of Early English Drama, edited by Edmund Creeth (New York, 1966), pp. 75-95.
43. Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, p. 136.
44. According to Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition, p. 148, this 'aside plus wordplay' combination contributes to the integration of the formerly loose function of wordplay into scene and action.
45. The first example occurs on p. 233; two similar utterances appear on p. 236 and p. 237, respectively.
46. Inna Koskenniemi, Studies in the Vocabulary of English Drama: 1550-1600 (Turku, 1962), p. 76.
47. Henry Bradley, 'Shakespeare's English', in Shakespeare's England, 2 vols (Oxford, 1916), II, 539-74 (p. 569); also, Frances A. Shirley, Swearing and Perjury in Shakespeare's Plays (London, 1979), p. 10, and for a discussion of the importance of the statute as it concerned Shakespeare's plays, pp. 125-52.
48. Shirley, pp. 47-71.
49. For example, Aristippus says: 'By'r Lady, Carisophus' (p. 18); other oaths involving the name of Our Lady are uttered by Will (p. 25), Aristippus again (p. 27 and p. 37), Stephano (p. 59), Jack (p. 81), and Gronno (p. 94). God is present in Grim's exclamation 'God's arms' (p. 80), and Will includes both God and Our Lady in his 'God's precious lady' (p. 67).
50. Interlude-writers either call a character 'a swearer' to signal his corruption or refer to swearing as a sin. In Nature, for instance, Sensuality compares the morally decadent Man with Worldly Affection, saying that the hero is now 'as great a swearer' (p. 80). The Vice Hickscorner says that there were many swearers among the sinners on the ship that brought him to England (Hickscorner, p. 139). In Wit and Science, Reason tells Wit why the latter will be whipped, and includes: 'Lastly offending both God and man,/Swearing great oaths as any man can' (ll. 865-6); Eulalia in Nice Wanton tells Xantippe about the sins committed by the latter's children among which is swearing (l. 103); Shrewd Wit in Wealth and Health lists his own evil

attributes which include swearing (p. 289); and, in King Darius, Constancy advises Iniquity: 'Leave thy swearing', threatening him that God will punish those who 'do blaspheme His name' (p. 75).

51. Rainer Pineas, 'The English Morality as a Weapon of Religious Controversy', Studies in English Literature, 2 (1962), 157-80 (p. 169).
52. With the exception of some of the Vices in The Castle of Perseverance, the Vices of the pre-Reformation plays usually invoke God or one of his saints, as illustrated in the examples already given.
53. Pineas, p. 169, acknowledges that characters other than Catholic Vices could occasionally employ such an imprecation but he does not mention the case of the Vices in Respublica.
54. Shirley, p. 22.
55. Philip Stubbes's words quoted by Wilson, The English Drama: 1485-1585, p. 60.
56. R. Warwick Bond, the editor of the play (first published, 1911; reprinted, New York, n.d.), p. 306, suggests that 'God's armentage is possibly a corruption of 'God's our 'vantage'; as for 'godes denti deare', he quotes Brandl's explanation as referring to God's 'divinity', and Manly's - which the editor prefers - as 'dignity' (p. 306); and, as for 'sokinges', Bond cites Brandl's suggestion that it is a corrupted form of 'sobblings' (p. 309).
57. The idea of using proverbs for titles of plays was followed by Elizabethan dramatists as a glance through the Annals of English Drama will suggest. For example, Look About You (1599), The weakest Goeth to the Wall (1600); When You See Me You Know Me (1604); If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody (1604); Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing (1598) and All's Well That Ends Well (1602); and lost plays such as What Will Be Shall Be (1596), and 'Tis No Deceit to Deceive the Deceiver (1598).
58. Rudolph E. Habenicht in the introduction to his edition of John Heywood's A Dialogue of Proverbs (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), p. 17.
59. Morris P. Tilley, Elizabethan Proverb Lore (New York, 1926), p. 39.
60. Proverbs in the Earlier English Drama (Cambridge, Mass., 1938). This statement may seem to be in disagreement with Whiting's findings when he says, on p. 170: 'the small group of short comic plays, usually called interludes are not specially distinguished by their use of proverbs'. The problem is one of terminology, as his reference to interludes as 'a small group of short comic plays' already indicates. What are called interludes in this thesis are listed under several terms in his book: 'biblical plays', 'moralities', 'early comedies' and 'early tragedies'.
61. Whiting, p. 65.
62. Whiting, p. 73.

63. Little Abra in Jacob and Esau (p. 234), Subtle Shift in Clyomon and Clamydes (l. 351), and Contempt in The Cobbler's Prophecy (l. 836) are some of the other characters who announce their proverbs to the audience.
64. Whiting, p. xiii.
65. See Robert S. Kinsman, 'Skelton's Magnyfycence: The Strategy of the "Olde Sayde Sawe"', Studies in Philology, 63 (1966), 99-125..
66. David M. Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 88.
67. Bradley, 'Shakespeare's English', p. 570, says: 'the chief features of the rustic dialect of these plays are the substitution of v and z for f and s ("vather", "zummer"), the form ich for the pronoun I, and the contractions cham, chave, or cha, chad, chill, chud for I am, I have, I had, I will, I would'.
68. Bradley, p. 570.
69. In another humanistic interlude, John Rastell's The Four Elements, the Vice Ignorance also appears but speaks standard English.
70. Lupton's stage direction reads: 'Here cometh in Mother Croote, dressed evil-favored like an old woman' (before l. 1215). The author does not want to give away her evil nature, but accentuates her old age for the sake of her story as she wants to marry a much younger man. This idea is reinforced by another stage direction: 'She shall be muffled and have a staff in her hand and go stooping' (before l. 1215).
71. Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages: 1300-1660, 2 vols (London, 1959-1972), II, pt. I, 29.
72. Mitchell, The Idea of Language in English Drama: 1590-1642, p. 2.
73. 'Mankind and Its Audience', Comparative Drama, 8 (1974-5), 347-55 (p. 350).
74. 'Mankind and Its Audience', p. 350.
75. Edgar T. Schell and J.D. Shuchter, the editors of the play (New York, 1969), p. 334, note that the author is rather uncertain of his Latin, and there are frequent misquotations.
76. God's Promises and The Three Laws; on the other hand, Christ in The Temptation of Our Lord and John in John the Baptist do not use Latin.
77. As, for example, Shrift, Generosity, Industry, Charity, Meekness, Patience and Chastity in The Castle of Perseverance; Mercy in Mankind; Reason and Abstinence in Nature; Verity in Respublica; Charity in King Darius; Discipline in The Longer Thou Livest etc; and Saint John in John the Evangelist; Hester in Godly Queen Hester; the Father in The Disobedient Child; Damon and Pithias in the play which bears their names; Gnomaticus in The Glass of Government; the scholar in The Cobbler's Prophecy and so on.

78. It must be borne in mind, however, that the device is not uniformly employed: Bale, for instance, makes both Deus Pater and Infidelity speak Latin in Three Laws for different purposes.
79. As far as the mock requiem of the Catholic Udall's Ralph Roister Doister is concerned (II. 3. 53-96), the Vice-like Merrygreek is making fun of the braggart, not of the Catholic funeral service. See A.W. Plumstead, 'Satirical Parody in Roister Doister: a Reinterpretation', Studies in Philology, 60 (1963), 141-54, for the refutation of the idea of the satire of the Catholic ritual and for the convincing argument that Ralph's funeral is a symbolic expression of his falseness.
80. Pineas, 'The English Morality as a Weapon of Religious Controversy', p. 175.
81. Similarly, the upper-class heroine of The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene justifies her Latin quotations possibly because the audience might find them odd coming from a woman. She volunteers the explanation that she 'learned verses when she went to school' (I. 705).
82. Compare Dekker's use of a similar device in his 'declination of a gallant' in If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil Is in It (IV. 2. 139-54).
83. Lysistrata/The Acharnians/The Clouds, translated by Alan. H. Sommerstein (Harmondsworth, 1973); for the scene with the Persian, see p. 53; for that with the Boeotian, see pp. 88-93; for that with the Megarian, see pp. 88-93.
84. For example, the Messenger speaks French in 'The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors' in Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, edited by Hardin Craig (London, 1957), ll. 475-85; and Octavianus speaks French in 'The Nativity Play' in The Chester Mystery Cycle, edited by R.M. Lumiansky and David Mills (London, 1974), ll. 209-17.
85. Charles J. Sisson, Le Goût public et le théâtre elisabéthain (Dijon, 1922), p. 6.
86. Misrule not only sings a French song ('Venir avecque vous gentyl compaygnon/ Faictes bone chere pour lamour de saint John/Mon coeur iocund is set on a merry pin', p. 332), but also proposes another ('Will ye have a French round?', p. 334), and suggests a visit to an inn with a French name ('Let us go straight to the Fleur de Lys', p. 336).
87. Thora Balslev Blatt, The Plays of John Bale (Copenhagen, 1968), p. 161.
88. The exception is Gnomaticus who, in The Glass of Government, moralizes with a proverb in Italian: 'byt an old saying hath bene Chi tropo abbraccia niente tiene' (IV. 4. p. 65).
89. Wealth and Health, pp. 287-8. J.S. Farmer, the editor of the play (London, 1907), p. 467, comments on the kind of 'Dutch' spoken in it: 'it was simply impossible to make sense out of it. Many of the words have no resemblance to anything in Dutch. It was submitted to Dutch and German scholars to no effect'.

90. The treatment of the Scottish dialect as a trait of foreignness is based on the political situation of Scotland as an independent nation in the sixteenth century. Thus, it differs from Edward Eckhardt's linguistic treatment in Die Dialekt - und Ausländertypen des älteren Englischen Dramas, 2 parts (first published, 1910; reprinted, Vaduz, 1963), I, in which he considers the language of the Highlands as foreign because of its Celtic origin, and the language of the Lowlands as closely related to the northern English dialect.
91. It is worth observing that Fealty, one of the English pages, answers Spanish Pride briefly in Spanish (p. 466), and the Spanish lord Policy exchanges a few words in Latin with the English page Shealty (p. 467).
92. Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (first published, 1958; reprinted, New York and London, 1968), p. 292, calls Montagos a 'Spanish doctor'; Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe, p. 88, says that 'Common Conditions introduces a heavy Spanish dialect in the speech of Mountagos'; Mitchell, The Idea of Language in English Drama: 1590-1642, p. 489, note 121, writes that 'there is Spanish dialect in Common Conditions'. Such an assumption is incorrect. There is not a single Spanish word in the speech given to Montagos. What may have prompted its identification as 'Spanish' is the fact that English words are made to end with an 'a' such as 'heda', 'deseza', 'whata', 'knowledga', 'marchanta', 'fatera' etc. Yet, such an ending could suggest Italian or Portuguese as well. It is also worth noticing that Montagos uses the Germanic 'mit' every time he means 'with'; see Common Conditions, pp. 225-7.
93. The foreign Vices of The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London continue to express themselves in English, and the Spanish lords, excepting Pride with his Latin and Spanish sentences, do the same.
94. For the theory that there were no Jews in England to provide models for the stage, see J.L. Cardozo, The Contemporary Jew in the Elizabethan Drama (Amsterdam, 1925). For the argument in favour of a small colony of Jews in London, see C.J. Sisson, 'A Colony of Jews in Shakespeare's London', Essays and Studies, 23 (1937), 38-51. The latter's view, based on the existence of a small Jewish community conforming (at least in appearance) to the norms of Christianity, does not wholly invalidate Cardozo's theory.
95. See M. J. Landa, The Jew in Drama (London, 1926), p. 119, for the idea that up to Sheridan 'the Jew was permitted to speak English - at least the dramatists wrote English for him'.
96. For a detailed look at these qualities, see Alan S. Downer, 'The Tudor Actor: a Taste of His Quality', Theatre Notebook, 5 (1951), 76-81.
97. Styan, Drama, Stage and Audience, p. 149.
98. Wickham, The Medieval Theatre, p. 191.
99. Craik, The Tudor Interlude, pp. 30-1, writes that doubling, though more characteristic of the adult companies, was also practised by the children's companies, mainly in minor parts.

100. Craik, The Tudor Interlude, p. 42 and p. 45.
101. Somerset, The Comic Turn in English Drama: 1470-1616, pp. 803-10, gives a long list of examples of suggested improvisation in Elizabethan dramatic texts; M.C. Bradbrook, 'The Triple Bond: Audience, Actors, Author in the Elizabethan Playhouse', in The Triple Bond, edited by Joseph G. Price (University Park and London, 1975), pp. 50-69 (p. 53) says that 'extempore jesting continued on the public stages chiefly in the afterpieces of the clowns'.
102. Somerset, pp. 803-10.
103. Robert Carl Johnson, 'Stage Directions in the Tudor Interlude', Theatre Notebook, 26 (1971-2), 36-42 (pp. 40-1).
104. Wickham, The Medieval Theatre, p. 192.
105. Peter Brook, The Empty Space (London, 1968), p.66.
106. Wickham, The Medieval Theatre, p. 177.
107. Bradbrook, p. 53.
108. Bradbrook, The Rise of the Common Player (London, 1962), pp. 29-30.
109. It is worth noticing that 'the songs of the earlier morality plays are chiefly in the mouths of the shiftless and vicious characters, especially the Vice, and are likely to be accompanied by dancing and ribald jesting...In the latter moralities there developed the tradition that other characters than the Vice should be singers, especially the rogues, beggars, and peddlers'. See John Robert Moore, 'Ancestors of Autolycus in the English Moralities and Interludes', Washington University Studies, Humanistic Series, 9 (1922), 157-64 (pp. 158-9).
110. Righter, Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play, pp. 24-5.
111. Stanley Sultan, 'The Audience Participation Episode in Johan Johan', Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 52 (1953), 491-7, challenges the editors who give Johan all the lines pertaining to the involvement of the audience; he suggests that Tyb is the one who snatches the garment away from one spectator and gives it to another (p. 496).
112. The Rise of the Common Player, p. 97. On p. 297, note 1, she explains: 'the instruction Flie goldknaps, I interpret as flinging "buttercups" - perhaps sweetmeats in this form'.
113. See Harbage and Schoenbaum, Annals of English Drama, p. 55.
114. Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, p.7.
115. See Autrey Nell Wiley, 'The English Vogue of Prologues and Epilogues', Modern Language Notes, 47 (1932), 255-7, for an appraisal of the extraordinary vogue of prologues and epilogues in the English drama after 1660.

116. Mary Crapo Hyde, Playwriting for Elizabethans: 1600-1605 (New York, 1949), p. 102.
117. Playwriting for Elizabethans, p. 105.
118. Le Langage dramatique (Paris, 1972), pp. 255-6.
119. Martin Esslin, An Anatomy of Drama (London, 1976), p. 101.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW TRADITION

Traffic and travel hath woven the nature
of all nations into ours, and made this
land like arras, full of device, which
was broadcloth, full of workmanship
(Prologue to Midas, 1589)

In the second half of the sixteenth century, a new dramatic tradition begins to evolve, and up to the early 1590s it is contemporary with the interludes until they finally die out.¹ This new drama is generally thought of as providing a change from a didactic, allegorical, conventional, and English tradition to a non-didactic, literal, naturalistic, and foreign-influenced one. To assess the correctness of these assumptions - chiefly as far as the last is concerned - and, at the same time, to look at the ideas of Englishness and foreignness in the interludes from another perspective, it will be worthwhile to examine the plays belonging to the formative decades of the Elizabethan drama.

It is, thus, the purpose of this chapter to examine the Elizabethan plays up to 1592, and comment on the differences from and similarities to the interludes in their handling of Englishness and foreignness. As far as dates are concerned, owing to the problem of doubtful cases, and the convenience of dealing with the entire canon of certain authors, some flexibility about the date limit has been adopted.² The chapter will be dealing with the same areas of approach this thesis has been concerned with in looking at the interludes, though on a different level of intensity and depth. The pattern of the chapter will follow the same order of the four previous ones. Although on occasion this order may appear less

than ideal it has been used to impose objectivity on the treatment of the material.

Expansion is the word that immediately comes to mind when one thinks of the second half of the sixteenth century in England. As A.L. Rowse puts it, 'the Elizabethan Age was so much the most intense and electric experience of a young people suddenly coming to maturity, with new worlds opening out before them, not only across the seas but in the mind.'³ The voyages to far-off countries and the discovery of new lands broadened the world Elizabethans lived in and aroused their curiosity about things foreign.

Expansion increased international trade and commerce and, consequently, cosmopolitanism in most aspects of life, as Lyly was very much aware when he wrote the lines which form the epigraph to this chapter. Of course England was not growing alone; the whole of Europe was expanding at the same time, creating the phenomenon of a parallel development of nationalism and internationalism. If European nations were more and more thinking of themselves in terms other than as members of Christendom, the increasingly cosmopolitan character of commerce and trade began at the same time to create an interdependence of nations in material and intellectual affairs.⁴

To this expansion of the physical and spiritual boundaries corresponds the taste of the age for a non-classical multiplicity, observable not only in the elaborate costumes of the day but also in the plastic and literary arts. 'Abundant variousness was a way of seeing the world in the sixteenth century',⁵ and it accounts for the concept of beauty based on copiousness and variety of detail. In the new drama, this tendency of the period is expressed through the double plots, complicated intrigue with varied incidents, abundance of characters, multiple settings, and ornate language.

As a consequence of the Elizabethans' growing awareness of other countries and peoples, and their predilection for multiplicity and diversity in life as well as art, the audience could no longer be satisfied with only the national one-sidedness which characterizes the interludes. Playwrights went to foreign literatures to provide material for their drama, thus provoking the well-known complaint that 'the Palace of pleasure, the Golden Asse, the Aethiopian historie, Amadis of Fraunce, the Rounde table, baudie Comedies in Latine, French, Italian, and Spanish, have beene thoroughly ransackt, to furnish the Playe houses in London'.⁶ After 1576, the great demand for new plays for the rival companies playing in London reinforces the dramatists' need to use foreign sources.

Expansion, then, viewed from different angles, may be considered the main reason for what seems at first sight to be the predominantly foreign aspect of the early Elizabethan drama. Other reasons for this foreignness will be suggested below, but they are either complements to or consequences of this widening of man's horizons, both physical and intellectual.

Yet, this idea of expansion should be dealt with cautiously: new ideas and knowledge could very often exist side by side with old beliefs, in the same way that broad-minded cosmopolitanism could be juxtaposed with narrow-minded nationalism. If the drama can be considered not only the newspaper but also, to a certain extent, the geography of the Elizabethans,⁷ it does not necessarily mean that playwrights always produced advanced views or popularized accurate geographical data. And how could they, since the voyagers themselves were often unwilling to believe in what they saw, and preferred to cling to their old images?⁸ Thus, one should not be surprised to

come across - in this early phase of the Elizabethan drama⁹ - foreign places which are either just exotic names, totally devoid of any sense of reality, or which, when a sharper focus is attempted, have their physical or human geography inaccurately described.

Also, although contact with foreigners abroad and at home increased considerably, most of the dramatists of the new tradition emulate interlude-writers in their xenophobic treatment of foreigners. It is, however, possible to find in this new tradition the beginning of a more open-minded attitude towards aliens.

Like the idea of expansion, the view that holds that the early Elizabethan drama is 'foreign' must be treated cautiously. It is true that a quick glance at the titles of the plays of the period seems to corroborate this idea. Many of their titles either indicate explicitly foreign locations - such as Gismond of Salerne, Alphonsus King of Aragon, The Spanish Tragedy, The Battle of Alcazar, Dido Queen of Carthage, The Jew of Malta and The Massacre at Paris - or suggest a foreign setting through the non-English names of title - characters - such as Jocasta, Promos and Cassandra, Campaspe, Sapho and Phao, Endimion, Gallathea, Tamburlaine, Mucedorus, Soliman and Perseda, Orlando Furioso and Selimus. This idea is further reinforced when one remembers the dependence of this drama on foreign literature, the number of lost plays apparently based on these sources, and that Shakespeare himself (who, in most minds, stands for the whole Elizabethan drama) with the exception of the histories and The Merry Wives of Windsor set all his plays in foreign lands.

Yet, the idea of the foreignness of the new tradition has to be duly qualified before it can be correctly applied and opposed to the Englishness of the interludes. A reading of the plays of the period will suggest that the drama reflects that tension between nationalism and internationalism, parochialism and cosmopolitanism, inward-looking and outward-looking views which characterizes contemporary society. Of course the presence of Englishness and foreignness discernible in the plays varies from one to another; but even the English history plays contain foreign characters and spread their actions to other countries. One has also to consider the idea of foreignness in terms of the concepts of illusion and non-illusion; to do this, it is necessary to return to the question of the conventions governing popular drama.

Most of the interludes, as we have seen, operate within a convention of non-illusion rather than illusion; the new tradition takes a step towards the latter but it can hardly be labelled 'naturalistic'. It has achieved a certain balance, and it is this balance between the real world and the play world which gives the Elizabethan drama its range and power. Yet, some modern critics are still looking at this drama from a naturalistic point of view, forgetting that it is essentially stage-conscious, and that it does not consistently try to disguise the actors' working space and performance with dramatic illusion. For example, Anne Righter tries to conciliate non-naturalistic devices with her naturalistic view by saying that the frequent anachronistic references to the contemporary theatre in the plays do not interfere with the dramatic illusion but 'provide another measure of the confidence dramatists now felt in the depth and naturalism of the play worlds they invented, the extent to which they might rely upon both the skill of the actors

and the training of their audience'.¹⁰ This statement implies a practice of sustained illusion which was not Elizabethan, and fails to allow for the fact that the playwrights' anachronistic references permitted their actors to step out of the world of make-believe and reach the world of the audience.

Robert Speaight seems to be taking exactly the opposite view when he asserts that 'the audience was in the play, not in front of it; the action of the play was not in Rome or Alexandria; it was here, and now, it was Elizabethan, and immediate'. A few lines further on, he sharpens his point by stating that, although there was no effort to create illusion, there existed a mutual imaginative effort involving both the author and the audience 'which secured that these actors should be Romeo and Juliet and also Elizabethan Englishmen; that this balcony should be in London by day and also in Verona by night'.¹¹ This final statement points out the practical result of that balance between illusion and non-illusion which is the underlying guiding principle of the Elizabethan drama. Furthermore, it supplies another reason for an elastic view of the idea of foreignness that must be borne in mind when applied to the plays of the period.

The mutual imaginative effort mentioned above was dependent on what S.L. Bethell calls 'multi-consciousness', that is, the audience's ability to respond spontaneously and simultaneously on more than one plane of attention at the same time.¹² As Bethell himself recognizes, this skill is not typically Elizabethan, being a characteristic of popular theatre audiences of all times;¹³ nevertheless, the Elizabethans - uncontaminated by notions of photographic realism - may have been far more responsive to the dual nature of their dramatic

experience since it had been part of their theatre since medieval times. This multi-consciousness was required of the spectators of the interludes though in a less demanding way. In the interludes there was hardly any sophistication in the ways the stories were presented - for example, no play-within-the-play, no dumb-shows, not many incidents in the action and fewer changes of scene - and their language had yet to acquire the power of commanding the spectators' imagination.

Anachronism is the main theatrical source of variability in the idea of foreignness, for it allows dramatists to play with time and place, and also contributes to the creation of the tension between Englishness and foreignness. This technique of bringing any foreign story to the England of the day and peopling ancient localities with persons of their own age had already been practised by interlude-writers. Yet, whereas these tended to keep the whole action in an English setting, the new dramatists learned how to manipulate setting through poetic language. Through language they could encourage audiences to transport themselves to other countries and visualize other cultures, making them oscillate between the foreign play world and their own English world, and participate in both at the same time.

Thus, to label this developing tradition 'foreign' is, for a series of reasons, to oversimplify the issue. The early Elizabethan drama, although unlike the interludes, with their emphasis on Englishness, does not represent an entirely new departure: only expands the existing model. It keeps the basic English elements of popular drama, and superimposes foreign elements upon them. Of course in this process Englishness has to recede to accommodate the

new components; yet these Elizabethan playwrights never allow the idea of foreignness to predominate: they merely channel it into the creation of a national drama.

1. 'Mirrors up to Nature'

It was suggested in the first chapter that interludes purposed to be 'looking-glasses for England'. The concept of art as mirror is taken up by the new drama, though in a wider sense and expressed in a subtler way. The new dramatists primarily aim at holding a 'mirror up to nature' in general, regardless of national boundaries, though many of their plays still focus on the native scene. At the same time that the images to be reflected increase in scope, the idea implicit in the mirror image of providing patterns of behaviour becomes less stressed and more disguised. The didacticism of the interludes yields to a non-didactic though still, in spite of varying emphases, essential moral view of art.

In this chapter the metaphor 'mirrors up to nature' will be used for plays which deal with the foreign scene, whereas 'mirrors up to England' will be reserved for those which focus on the native setting. 'Looking-glasses for England', though mainly applicable to the interludes, may be occasionally used to refer to plays which, like the interludes, not only reflect the native scene but also aim to offer moral guidance to the spectators - that is, plays which illustrate both the expressive and the instrumental aspects of popular drama.

The early Elizabethan drama goes on dealing with the English scene in history plays, historical romances, and domestic tragedies and comedies. Nevertheless, the bulk of its production is outward-looking. Not only do the surviving plays attest to that new perspective,

but one must also take into account a number of titles of lost dramas inspired by classical and romantic narratives.¹⁴ In view of this it is very difficult to accept Kenneth Muir's sweeping statement that 'all Elizabethan plays, whether their scene was set in the past or in the present, in Illyria or in England, were designed to offer a comment on the life of the immediate present. This is apparent even in the academic plays of the period, as well as in the plays written for the popular stage'.¹⁵

The above statement could be applied to the interludes, for they indeed 'were designed to offer a comment on the life of the immediate present'. But, even in their case there were varying degrees in which the plays reflected contemporary life or commented on it.¹⁶ The Elizabethan drama, however, freed from the immediate purpose of didacticism, can devote only a part of its energy to comment on the contemporary native scene.

Nevertheless, the predominantly international settings of the new tradition should not lead to the simplified conclusion that, because they are dealing with alien countries and characters, dramatists have turned away from national problems and concerns. Like interlude-writers, these new playwrights might deliberately choose a foreign story or setting with the obvious intention of treating contemporary native issues. It is also true that even when they were not primarily concerned with political and social questions, many authors reacted sensitively to their age, and their experience and criticism of contemporary life could filter through their treatment of non-English themes and plots. But this does not mean that all Elizabethan plays were 'designed to offer a comment on the life of the immediate present'.

All that can be stated is that some plays offer a direct criticism of the English scene, some an indirect one, others, none at all. For example, a play like Woodstock offers far more comment on Elizabethan life than Mucedorus, about which it can only be said that it reflects the taste of the age for romantic adventures. Or, to use the examples of two plays with foreign settings: Marlowe's Massacre at Paris has more contemporary political relevance than Dido Queen of Carthage. What was the intention of these dramatists when they held their mirrors up to nature in general or to England in particular? To answer this question one must discuss the view of art which oriented their drama.

1.1 The Morality of the Early Elizabethan Drama

The early Elizabethan drama is highly varied and manifests itself in many different genres, from the well-known forms of histories, tragedies and comedies to the singular one of Summer's Last Will and Testament.¹⁷ Since each genre seems to adopt a different moral attitude towards its subject, and even within a single genre the attitude may differ from one play to another, it is difficult to make meaningful generalizations about the morality of the whole drama. Thus, one cannot accept the view that 'it is a commonplace that the aim of writers was primarily moral' and that 'the audience were prepared to see the whole play related to a moral precept'.¹⁸ The question is more complicated. It may be said that a moral aim was the prerogative of the histories rather than the romantic adventures, of the tragedies rather than the comedies. Yet, on the whole there was a general unquestioning belief in the didactic view of art - inherited from the medieval drama and the interludes - and playwrights as well as critics defended the idea that art should have

an educative function. The main difference between interlude-writers and the new authors lies in the gap between theory and practice. Whereas the former generally kept that gap consistent and narrow, the latter allowed it to vary enormously, ranging from the moral earnestness of Promos and Cassandra, in which George Whetstone purposes to present 'the perfect magnanimitye of a noble Kinge, in checking Vice and favouringe Vertue: Wherein is showne, the Ruyne and overthrowe, of dishonest practises: with the advauncement of upright dealing' to the household morality of The Taming of a Shrew, in which the Player tells the lord of the house that the comedy to be performed

~~Thi~~ is a good lesson for us my lord, for us
that are married men
(SC. I. 62)

Given the flexibility of interpretation of the didactic aim of art in the new drama, Madeleine Doran's distinction between explicit moralizing and moral implication is helpful:

The distinction is useful to make if we do not think of it as an absolute dichotomy the terms of which must be exclusively applied to particular plays. We should think of the terms simply as representing the ends of a scale, along which there is every shading from directly announced meaning to meaning that is conveyed indirectly by the elements of dramatic form - fable, character, setting, and style.¹⁹

The moral framework of the new tradition, then, makes itself felt through the choice of the subject and in the author's attitude to it, colours the conception of character, determines the handling of the ending, and the amount of sententiousness in the style. Yet, the blatant moralizing of the interludes has been superseded by a more subtle and less dramatically obstructive morality.

Thus, the early Elizabethan drama - whether private or public - shares a common moral attitude. As Alfred Harbage tells us, 'it is not until the pressure of audience tastes is exerted in commercialized theatres that distinct popular and select repertories emerge, with the split in philosophical outlook'.²⁰ This means, that, after 1599, the repertory of the coterie theatres may be referred to as morally ambiguous,²¹ whereas the popular theatres carry on their traditional moral values into the Jacobean age.

Now the change from an overtly didactic tradition to a generally ethical though not particularly didactic one affects the Englishness of the new tradition in the sense of immediacy of presentation and closeness of contact between performers and spectators. As has been suggested in the previous chapter, didacticism naturally leads to direct address. Whereas in the interludes the Virtues and virtuous characters preach to and exhort the audience, direct preaching and exhortation grow increasingly rare in the new drama. The comic characters, however, continue the popular tradition of addressing themselves directly to the spectators.

Also, where the interludes, as 'looking-glasses for England', stressed both their expressive as well as their instrumental aspects, the new tradition emphasizes its expressive elements to the detriment of its instrumental one. On the whole it fails to provide characters who present themselves as straightforward models of behaviour - positive or negative - for the audience.

The characters of the interludes, whether they were called Everyman or Mankind, Mary Magdalene or Susanna, Damon or Cambises, were put on the stage with the explicit function of offering moral guidance to the audience. It has already been indicated how these

characters were anglicized, irrespective of their abstract nature; or biblical, or classical origins. The process of anglicization brought these characters closer to the audience, and encouraged it to learn vicariously through the dramatized human experience.

Whereas the characters of the interludes are embodiments of ideas and/or ideals rather than depictions of human beings, the new tradition moves towards a more naturalistic portraiture. The stage world is still divided between the virtuous and the vicious but with a certain variation between the two extremes. Also, there is a tendency towards character development. Furthermore, this drama, freed from the straitjacket of didacticism, allows itself to present moral ambiguity in such figures as the Marlovian heroes Tamburlaine and Faustus. It is significant that in the prologue to I Tamburlaine the author withdraws from guiding the moral response of the audience:

View but his picture in this tragic glass,
and then applaud his fortunes as you please.

Marlowe even disconcerts the spectators of The Jew of Malta, in which Machiavel asks them to forbear from an a priori judgment of Barabas:

I crave but this: grace him as he deserves,
And let him not be entertain'd the worse
Because he favours me.

(11. 33-5)

It may be argued that Marlowe is the extreme example of the playwrights' refusal to provide patterns of behaviour. It is, however, worth noticing their fascination with wicked characters and evil deeds. One category of wicked characters, the evil kings, may provide an example of this generalization. Thus, a glance at the characters of the early Elizabethan drama will show, first, the predominance of

kings or characters in positions of power; second, among these, the very few who are really virtuous. The English Edward I, Edward III (in spite of a bad beginning), Edward of George a Greene, and the foreigners Alexandre in Campaspe, and Cyrus in The Wars of Cyrus are exceptionally good. Arthur, Locrine, Richard II (in Woodstock, for in Jack Straw he is sympathetically depicted), John (in spite of the author's attempt to portray him as a Protestant martyr), Richard III and Edward II among the English kings, and Alphonsus, Tancred, James IV, Soliman and Selimus among the foreigners are all pernicious characters. Some of these princes are extreme in their passion and cruelty which turn them into what Jean Duvignaud calls 'personnages atypiques'.²²

It is true that interlude-characters like Appius, Dionysius and Cambises could be listed under the same category. Yet, the overt didacticism of the drama they belong to guided the audience's response throughout the plays. In the case of the characters in question, though eventually they meet their punishment - it is the general moral outlook at work - the spectators are left alone to make their own judgement. This judgement might often be coloured by the characters' daring personalities, the nature of their deeds - which provided exciting scenes - and the power of their language.

Yet, in spite of the subdued role of the instrumental aspect of the new drama, there is a series of plays - some of the 'mirrors up to England' - in which the desire to offer moral guidance to the audience is still uppermost, and they will be treated next.

1.2 Foreignness and 'Mirrors up to England'

Among the predominantly foreign settings of the early Elizabethan drama there stands out a group of plays the purpose of which is to make England not only their setting but also their theme: the English history or chronicle plays.

The appearance of this purely native genre has been ascribed to several reasons. According to David Bevington, Elizabeth's watchful censorship prompted playwrights to go to English history to find examples with contemporary applicability; 'such avoidance of literalism helped create the dramatic genre that most forcefully represents the culmination of Tudor political drama: the English history play'.²³ Jean Duvignaud sees the probing into history - English or foreign - and the choice of 'l'image du roi criminel' as an expression of the disruption of the social balance in English society in its transitional phase, torn between feudal and Renaissance values.²⁴ Madeleine Doran, starting from the idea that the English history play 'could grow because of the combination of a popular theater and an increasingly new interest in English history', elaborates on the reasons for such interest.²⁵ Finally, A.P. Rossiter and Irving Ribner examine the appearance of the genre in the light of the shaping influence of the interludes.²⁶ These last two views are of particular importance for this chapter since they suggest that the history plays can be regarded as a continuation of the tradition of the inward-looking drama.

The preoccupation with contemporary England is always evident in spite of the fact that these plays deal with the past.²⁷ In the immediately pre- and post-Armada years it was important to remind

In Woodstock - even though its overall tone seems in many ways far from orthodox - the title-character declares his loyalty to the bad Richard II not only on the grounds that 'he's our King, and God's great deputy' but also on the possibility of the people's guilt.

.... what's now amiss
Our sins have caused, and we must bide
 heaven's will.
 (IV. 2. p. 234)

Yet, if on the one hand, the history plays follow the interludes in their concern with national issues, on the other, they treat these issues from that outward-looking perspective that is characteristic of the new drama. Albion Knight, Respublica and Gorboduc show England torn by internal corruption and dissension; these early Elizabethan history plays prefer, on the whole, to follow Bale's King John, and present England harassed by international as well as national problems. Thus, many of the history plays of the period move their scenes between England and the continent - for example, The Famous Victories of Henry V, The Troublesome Reign of King John, Edward III, I & II Henry VI, Edward II and Woodstock; some of these, and plus others beside, import a foreign atmosphere into England by the presence of foreign characters - for example, The Troublesome Reign of King John, Lochrine, Edward I, Edward II and Sir Thomas More.

It is significant that the idea of foreignness plays a very important part in the presentation of historical themes and plots. And what is more significant in theatrical terms is that the presence of foreign elements in these plays admits the creation of dramatic situations unknown in the interludes. These situations cluster

around the conflict between England and foreign powers, which is reminiscent of the struggle between good and evil in the earlier drama. Thus the young king speaks to his soldiers in The Famous Victories of Henry V:

My Lords and loving Countrymen,
Though we be fewe and they many,
Feare not, your quarrel is good, and God
will defend you:
(SC. XIV. 1155-7)

And in Edward III, the Black Prince sees the English victory as 'an argument that Heaven aids the right' (IV. 7. p. 156). Where Henry V fights against the French, King John opposes Rome, France, and a host of continental allies; Edward III and the Black Prince confront the French with their foreign friends, and Edward I is set in opposition to the Welsh rebels and the Scottish king; I & II Henry VI deal with the war against the French, and Sir Thomas More present clashes between Englishmen and immigrants in London.

The history plays of the new tradition, then, though they may in a sense be given the same label as the interludes of 'looking-glasses for England', look beyond the English scene even while focussing on it. In doing so, they not only expand the subject matter and the fields of action - the repercussion of national affairs on international affairs and vice-versa - but they also increase the theatrical possibilities of the use of foreignness, so limited in the interludes.

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Another kind of play to which the label 'looking-glass for England' might be applied is the domestic tragedy. Unfortunately, most of the representatives of the genre are lost,³³ and only one of the three surviving plays - Arden of Faversham (1591) - belongs to the period under discussion. The importance of the genre and the merit of

this play, however, justify a brief treatment in this section.

Like the history plays, domestic tragedies can be considered as an entirely native production of the Elizabethan theatre.³⁴ Further comparison with the histories is prompted by the fact that domestic drama includes, among other elements, 'a plot or action based on historical fact, English in origin, with subject matter deriving from some familiar and recent event, usually a murder or other sensational crime'.³⁵ This means that the subject is English, acted out by well-known personages against a provincial background. What the above definition leaves out, however, is the problem of the moral commitment of this kind of drama.

H.H. Adams places domestic tragedies in the homiletic tradition, and has no doubts about their instructive aim. He affirms that 'many morality plays continued to be present after the opening of the theatres in 1576, but the murder plays and other domestic tragedies took over the didactic mission of the moralists and applied the religious message directly to life'.³⁶ Madeleine Doran, though accepting that the domestic tragedy owes a great deal to the moral play, warns, however, that a play like Arden of Faversham can be distorted if viewed as a dramatized homily.³⁷ Keith Sturges denies the derivation of the domestic tragedy from the morality play, but accepts the former as belonging to 'warning literature' owing to its moral purpose.³⁸

The debatable question of placing the domestic tragedy within the moral tradition of the interludes exemplifies the new playwrights' flexible treatment of the didactic view of art dealt with earlier in this chapter. Like interlude-writers, the authors of domestic tragedies may purpose to present an ethical treatment of their stories. Nevertheless,

their attitude towards the validity and the theatrical potentialities of an overt expression of their instructive aims is not firmly held. As a consequence of this discrepancy between the aim of the story and its actual treatment, some playwrights provoke a complex moral response, like the author of Arden of Faversham.

It is true that its title-page, in a fashion characteristic of the interludes, outlines the intended moral effect of watching and reading the play: 'Wherin is shewed the great mallice and discimulation of a wicked woman, the unsatiabie desire of filthie lust and the shamefull end of all murderers'. On the other hand, as M.L. Wine points out in the introduction to the Revels edition, what is remarkable about it, given the nature of its material, is its lack of didacticism.³⁹ The heroine herself is not morally ambiguous if viewed individually; but when she is considered within the social context of the play and compared with the other characters - including her husband - it becomes harder to pass judgement on her. The complex morality of the Faversham world is miles away from the clear-cut Manichean view of the world held by interlude-writers. For, as has been said, what 'makes the easy didactic judgement of the moralist not fully tenable is the ambivalence of characters living in a society whose own attitude towards newly recognized individual ambition and social mobility is itself ambivalent!'.⁴⁰ Of course the governing ethical principle makes itself felt when the murderers are duly punished. What is significant, however, is that the spectators are left to themselves to cope as best they can with the ambiguous ethics of the play.

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The remaining plays which deal with the English scene, though faithful to an ethical view of art, shun didacticism as one of their

primary purposes. They may be termed, not 'looking-glasses for England', but simply 'mirrors up to England'. Among these plays are the so-called historical romances that make use of historical settings merely as background for romantic stories. Such are Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay (1589), George a Greene the Pinner of Wakefield (1590), Fair Em the Miller's Daughter of Manchester (1590) and The True Chronicle History of King Leir (1590).

These plays break new ground in English dramaturgy, since the interludes present no example of the kind. Obviously this new genre reflects English reality much less than the historical drama and the domestic tragedy already examined. Yet, there is a lingering native atmosphere - chiefly in the first two plays mentioned above - partly conveyed by the presence of well-known characters borrowed from history or legend.

Though these romances lack the didactic aims of the histories, they present the same tension, noticed in the latter plays, between English and foreign elements in their themes and plots. Thus, in Fair Em and King Leir the setting shifts to Denmark and France respectively, while in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay and George a Greene the native scene is infiltrated by aliens - from Germany, Saxony, and Castile in the first, and from Scotland in the second.

It is also noticeable that the idea of foreignness, which is not fully exploited in the subject matter of the interludes, in the new drama - as has already been remarked of the history plays - contributes to the creation of conflict in the plots. The main difference is that, whereas in the history plays the opposition of English and foreign elements is at the centre of the intrigue, in the historical romances it occupies a peripheral position. For, in these

plays, the emphasis is on romance, and the glorification of such folk-heroes as George a Greene and Robin Hood.

Yet, though peripheral, the opposition is clearly delineated. In Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay it is expressed in terms of rivalry between English and German magic, and - in different terms - between Margaret, the country maid of Fressingfield and Eleanor, the princess of Castile.⁴¹ In the three other plays the opposition is presented as clashes between warring armies: England against Scotland in George a Greene, England against Denmark in Fair Em, and England against France in King Leir.

In spite of the secondary interest of the situation which shows Englishmen opposing aliens, the resolution of the conflict in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay and George a Greene is in accordance with the celebratory, patriotic attitude already observed in The Famous Victories of Henry V, Edward III, and Edward I. In King Leir, the fact that this dramatic clash could result in the victory of a French army over Britain is proof enough that the interest is wholly focussed on the fairy-tale elements of the story.⁴²

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Still centred in the English setting, one finds a series of comedies such as July and Julian (1570), Gallathea (1585), The Two Angry Women of Abingdon (1588), Mother Bombie (1589), and The Old Wives Tale (1590). As has been seen, the interludes which project a farcical image of England are chiefly concerned with its reality and reflect it as accurately as the spirit of comedy allows them to. The above plays, however, reveal the native scene in varying degrees - from the thoroughly realistic depiction of country life and manners in The Two Angry Women of Abingdon to the totally unrealistic atmosphere

of the main plots of Gallathea and The Old Wives Tale.

Lyly's Gallathea and Peele's The Old Wives Tale provide very interesting illustrations of the new development of the early Elizabethan drama: the successful handling of the incursion of foreign elements into native stories. In the former play, thanks to the author's skilful treatment of classical legend and English history and geography, the scene 'becomes simultaneously England, past and present, and a timeless, legendary land filled with gods, nymphs, and monsters'.⁴³ The past of the main plot has been made so legendary, and its Lincolnshire setting - with its share of mythological beings - has become so distant that one is reminded of L.P. Hartley's words in the prologue to one of his novels - 'the past is a foreign country: they do things differently there'.⁴⁴ It is this 'foreignness of the past', then, that creates a tension between the romantic plot and the realistic subplot. On a minor scale it may be said that the same tension is created in The Old Wives Tale between the framework of the play with its setting in contemporary England and the down-to-earth figure of the old woman Madge and the play proper, inhabited by legendary knights, conjurers, and ghosts, with the denouement in England of events which had occurred in Thessaly.

July and Julian, Mother Bombie and chiefly The Two Angry Women of Abingdon reflect the contemporary English scene far more accurately. The first two plays carry on the tradition of Jack Juggler and Ralph Roister Doister in their transplantation of Roman intrigue to the English scene. Yet, unlike the interludes, these comedies are never completely anglicized: the authors betray the foreignness of their sources in the plotting and minor details. In July and Julian, the setting, though apparently English, remains unlocalized; the two

fathers keep their Latin names (Chremes and Menedemus), and it is obvious that the three servants of the Chremes family are disguised slaves after the Roman model. In Mother Bombie, the intrigue remains Roman to the core, and all the characters have Latin names, except the title-character and the boy Half-penny. Though Lyly localizes the action in England, the play fails to present a convincing picture of its scene and customs. As these two examples show, the juxtaposition of English and foreign elements in the subject matter does not always produce successful results.

It is only when one comes to The Two Angry Women of Abingdon that one is clearly dealing with a thoroughly English comedy which, like Gammer Gurton's Needle, has entirely overcome the influence of Roman plotting. This is mainly due to the realistic depiction of domestic life and manners, the creation of a countryside atmosphere, and the presence of such homely characters as Dick Coomes and Nicholas Proverbs - one, a swearer; the other, a lover of proverbs. All these factors contribute to make this play vie with Arden of Faversham as the best dramatic reflection of contemporary English life in the period under discussion.

In all the plays examined in this subsection there are foreign elements - in one way or another - with the exception of Arden of Faversham and The Two Angry Women of Abingdon. Their contribution to the themes and plots of the different plays, granting their variability, may be regarded as enriching. It is interesting to observe, however, that it is in the history plays, which most fully share the Englishness of the interludes - in form, subject matter, and aims -, that the idea of foreignness is most thematically relevant and most theatrically exploited in the shaping of the plots.

1.3 Englishness and 'Mirrors up to Nature'

The series of plays here thought of as presenting 'mirrors up to nature' have their stories developed in a foreign setting. In these plays - based on foreign history, Roman comedy, contemporary Italian drama, medieval classical authors, Ovid and Virgil, Greek romances, and Italian novelle - the tendency of the new drama to mix Englishness and foreignness in the subject matter still persists but with a shift in the proportions. The contribution of English elements to foreign stories is not very significant. This may be due to the fact that the sources of these plays allow little incursion of native elements as far as the intrigue and/or the personages are concerned. Only occasionally do plays like The Battle of Alcazar (1589) and John of Bordeaux (1592) invite English characters - Thomas Stukeley and Friar Bacon respectively - to share the adventures of their foreign characters in non-native settings.

The most topical of these plays, and those closer to the interludes in their applicability to the native scene, are the plays which deal with foreign history such as The Wounds of Civil War (1588), The Battle of Alcazar (1589) and The Massacre at Paris (1593?). They warn the audience of the dangers of civil war, alert it to the treacherous nature of Spain, and remind it of the threat posed to Protestant England when Huguenots are so mercilessly assassinated in France. In the case of the last two plays, the fact that they were also dealing with recent events added to their immediacy for their Tudor spectators.

Like some interlude-writers - the authors of Godly Queen Hester, Appius and Virginia and Horestes for instance - the new playwrights use foreignness not only to comment on the contemporary scene but also

indirectly to provide models of behaviour for Englishmen. This aim was to be later expressed by Thomas Heywood when he was defending the theatre in 1612: 'if wee present a forreigne History, the subject is so intended, that in the lives of Romans, Grecians or others, either the vertues of our Country-men are extolled, or their vices reprov'd'.⁴⁵ Thus, whereas the faults of Marius and Scilla (The Wounds of Civil War) and the Machiavellian behaviour of the Duke of Guise (The Massacre at Paris) are to be reprov'd, Stukeley's change of heart in The Battle of Alcazar is to be praised. The latter reminds one of the Mankind figure turning from vicious to virtuous living, that is, changing from the Queen's rebellious subject into a champion of Christendom:

Saint George for England, and Ireland nowe adue,
For here Tom Stukley shapes his course annue.
(II. 4. 735-6)

It may, then, be said that these oblique 'looking-glasses for England' create the same tension between Englishness and foreignness already observed in the interludes of the same type. The audience is invited to watch foreign stories which are particularly relevant to their place and time, and also encouraged to learn from them.

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Besides the availability of foreign sources - both in the original and in translation - other literary reasons may have contributed to the foreignness of early Elizabethan tragedy. For example, J.W. Cunliffe suggests that among Seneca's main attractions for Elizabethan dramatists was his cosmopolitanism.⁴⁶ Another influence was possibly the Italian Cinthio's, for, according to Marvin T. Herrick, 'Cinthio sought exotic settings for all his plays, and this practice undoubtedly influenced his followers throughout

Western Europe. In England, for example, Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedies, more often than not had exotic settings'.⁴⁷ It is not without significance that the authors of The Mirror for Magistrates, regarded by Willard Farnham as contributory to native tragedy, first concentrated on the examples provided by English history, but soon went beyond the national scope of their tragical narratives, turning to universal history for inspiration.⁴⁸ With so many reasons at work, it is hardly surprising to find so many tragedies dealing with foreign matter and characters.

When one starts examining these early tragedies, the first impression is that, because of their total dependence on their non-native sources, they break away from the Englishness of the interlude tradition. For, unlike plays based on foreign history, tragedies like Jocasta (1566), Gismond of Salerne (1566), The Spanish Tragedy (1587), Dido Queen of Carthage (1587), The Jew of Malta (1589), Soliman and Perseda (1590), Doctor Faustus (1592), and one may also add the tragi-comedy I & II Promos and Cassandra (1578), offer little scope for topicality with the possible exception of Jocasta.⁴⁹

Their subject matter is entirely foreign, and Englishness does not impinge upon it. It is only in The Spanish Tragedy that Kyd's patriotism produces a pageant of three English knights and their respective conquests in Portugal and Spain (I. 4. 140-71). Yet, this English episode is not woven into the larger fabric of the plot.

It is in the treatment of the stories, however, that the characteristic English tradition built up by interlude-writers makes its incursion. For, like their predecessors, the dramatists tend to transform foreign material through the imposition of a moral.

This is the same technique employed by those interlude-writers who used a foreign source - like Calisto and Melibea and Annius and Virginia - and endowed it with a strong ethical aim. Thus, in these early Elizabethan tragedies, the foreignness of the story and the Englishness of its handling foster that juxtaposition between foreign and English elements observed, in most themes and plots so far. This is particularly true of such plays as Jocasta, Gismond of Salerne, and Promos and Cassandra.

In the first play - translated from Lodovico Dolce's Italian adaptation of Euripedes' Phoenissae based on a Latin translation - the moralizing passages had already been freely added by the Italian author,⁵⁰ and must have appeared to George Gascoigne (author of the interlude The Glass of Government) and Francis Kinwellmersh. The result is that 'the morality is characteristically Elizabethan, a medley of Greek, Latin, Italian, and English moral reflexion'.⁵¹ In Jocasta not only does the Chorus point out the moral message, but Oedipus offers himself as an example of the fickleness of fortune:

Deare citizens, beholde your Lord and King
That Thebes set in quiet government,
Now as you see, neglected of you all,
And in these ragged ruthfull weedes bewrapt.
(V. 5. 240-3)

Yet, far more meaningful are those examples provided by characters who, unlike Oedipus, are directly responsible for their own falls. They are reminiscent of those interlude sinners who earnestly plead with the audience to profit by their example. Such is Tancred, who in Tancred and Gismund (the rewritten version of Gismond of Salerne) exhorts the fathers in the audience:

.... now fathers learn by me,
Be wise, be warnde to use more tenderly
The jewels of your joyes
(ll. 1855-7)

Similarly Promos, in II Promos and Cassandra, led to what seems to be his execution, advises his listeners:

Farewell, my friendes, take warning by my fall
Disdaine my life, but listen to my ende.
Fresh harmes they say, the viewers so apall
As oft they win the wicked to amend.
(V. 4. p. 509)

Though in these plays the morality may appear rather mechanical, the playwrights openly intend to guide the audience's moral response. The authors of The Spanish Tragedy and Soliman and Perseda adopt the same attitude, but the ethos operative in the plays is less explicitly stated. It must be said, however, that Kyd's play already shows signs of the possibilities of looking at morality from more than one angle, owing to the controversy over the ethics of revenge.⁵²

It is Marlowe, however, who in The Jew of Malta (its morality will be discussed in another section) and Doctor Faustus offers a more complex handling of ethical matters. The moral ambiguity of Doctor Faustus is remarkable considering its subject matter and its indebtedness to the didactic tradition of the interludes.⁵³ Like Arden of Faversham, this play illustrates the tendency of the new tradition to deal with moral issues in a less straightforward manner. The hero is punished in the end, but the author refrains from judging him; doing so, he leaves the spectators to fend for themselves throughout the course of the action. Thus, whereas the authors of the tragedies dealt with above, simply tread - with slight variation - the moral path of interlude-writers, Marlowe takes another direction, establishing the individuality of his own outlook and voice partly

through our awareness of the strength of the tradition from which he emerges.

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Among the popular comedies of the period dealing with foreign stories - The Bugbears (1564), Supposes (1566), Fedele and Fortunio the Two Italian Gentlemen (1584), The Taming of a Shrew (1589), John a Kent and John a Cumber (1589), and John of Bordeaux (1592) - some allow a few incursions of Englishness.

The first three plays are adaptations and translations of contemporary Italian comedies - influenced by Plautus and Terence - by John Jeffere, George Gascoigne and, possibly, Anthony Munday respectively.⁵⁴ The plotting and manners depicted are Roman and Italian. For instance, 'strange to English comedy and intolerable to the manners (or stage manners) of that time is the fact that in Gascoigne and Jeffere the heroine is the mistress of the hero'.⁵⁵ It is worth remarking here the difference between the interludes influenced by Roman comedy - Rolfe Roister Doister, Gammer Gurton's Needle, and Jack Juggler - and later plays in the same Roman manner - July and Julian, Mother Bonbie - and these adaptations and translations. Whereas the first group of plays is thoroughly anglicized and the second half - anglicized, the last group makes no attempt to acclimatize foreign subject matter and customs to England.

John a Kent and John a Cumber, which focusses on the rivalry between two magicians - one Welsh, the other Scottish - mainly acted out in Chester, reflects the native scene more closely than John of Bordeaux and The Taming of a Shrew. It also presents that juxtaposition between foreign and English elements so often found in the subject matter of the new drama. Yet, this tension is more effectively contrived in the last two plays.

In John of Bordeaux, Friar Bacon is made to go to Germany to measure his power with Jacques Vandermaast, and is allowed to influence the development of the plot - to what extent is not known since the text of the play is incomplete. In The Taming of a Shrew, the author creates a frame structure with English characters in an English setting around the Italianate/Greek play proper. He maintains the coexistence of Englishness and foreignness in the main plot through the permanent presence of Slie and the other Warwickshire characters on stage. On one occasion he even fuses both elements by means of the illusion - breaking technique used by Medwall in Fulgens and Lucres. This occurs when Slie interferes in the play: on hearing the Duke of Cestus order Phylotus and Valeria to be sent to prison, the player/spectator protests:

Slie. I say wele have no sending to prison.

Lord. My Lord this is but the play, theyre
but in jest.

Slie. I tell thee Sim wele have no sending
to prison thats flat: why Sim am not
I Don Christo Vary?
Therefore I say they shall not go to prison.

Lord. No more they shall not my Lord,
They be run away.

Slie. Are they run away Sim? thats well,
Then gis some more drinke, and let them
play againe.'

(SC. XVI. 45-53)

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Another group of plays which, like those based on foreign history, creates a tension between the foreignness of their stories and the Englishness of their topicality is the court plays. They could also be called oblique 'looking-glasses for England' were it not for their limited and select audience. Like the interludes Gorboduc and The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality,

these plays - The Arraignment of Paris (1581) by Peele, and Carpaspe (1584), Sapho and Phao (1584), Endimion (1588), and Midas (1589) by Lyly - derive most of their dramatic meaning from the occasion of their presentation before the Queen. This is particularly true of Peele's play in which the rivalry between the goddesses Juno, Pallas and Venus is solved when Diana, according to the stage direction, 'delivereth the ball of golde to the Queenes owne hands'.

Although there were indirect compliments to the figure of the Queen by making virtuous heroines the main characters of plays like Patient Grissell, Appius and Virginia, and Susanna, the Queen's portrait in drama began in the brief sketches attached to the formal concluding prayers of Elizabethan interludes. They bear no organic relation to the plays themselves until one reaches The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality (1567) which 'shows that the virtues of the queen could be linked closely with the content of drama'.⁵⁶ This development - from simple references to the figure of the Queen as a nucleus of dramatic significance - culminates in Lyly's allegorical court plays. Criticism has pointed out a variety of topical allegories in these plays - but even leaving out the exact historical parallels, it is possible to see the analogy between the fictional monarchs and their courts and Elizabeth and her English courtiers.

Midas, however, though a court play, goes beyond the narrow interests of court life to reflect a national concern - the threat of Philip II of Spain. Like some interlude-writers before him, Lyly employs the device of foreignness to draw attention to the native scene. Though the focus of the play is 'Phrygia', the island of 'Lesbos' is constantly referred to. Yet, the author does

not forget the royal presence, and also puts this device to the purpose of flattering the Queen, by comparing the tyrant of 'Phrygia' to the wise ruler of 'Lesbos'. It may, then, be said that, in spite of the limited scope of the court plays, they show other instances of the relevance of the idea of foreignness for the expansion and variety of the themes and plots of the new dramaturgy.

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The remaining plays of the period - King David and Fair Bethsabe (1587), Mucedorus (1590), Orlando Furioso (1591), and the so-called 'conqueror' plays such as the courtly The Wars of Cyrus (1588), and the popular Alphonsus King of Aragon (1587), I & II Tamburlaine (1587-1588), and Selimus (1592) do not allow any significant incursions of Englishness into their foreign-dominated subject matter. Furthermore, this group of plays, relying entirely on their foreign sources, corroborates the idea that the new dramaturgy tends to be outward-looking and encourages playwrights to stay outside the native scene.

Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out, that a few interlude-writers also attempted to look beyond the national boundaries. It has already been suggested how they put their foreign sources to the service of their inward-looking drama. Though the 'conqueror plays' represent an entirely new development, the Biblical world of King David and Fair Bethsabe has its antecedent in that of the early Godly Queen Hester (1527) and the late Susanna (1569); the romantic world of Mucedorus finds its counterpart in the earlier one of Glymon and Clamydes (1570) and Common Conditions (1576). Yet, whereas in the interludes the process of anglicization makes itself felt, these new plays, independent of a narrow utilitarian view of art, can more successfully sustain the idea of foreignness in their

subject matter. Nevertheless, as will be seen, in spite of their 'purely foreign' stories, the plays under discussion may be coloured by Englishness owing to the handling of the setting, characterization, and language, plus the conventions and conditions of performance of the early Elizabethan drama.

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As has been proposed in the introduction to this chapter, the developing tradition does not represent an entirely new departure: in a sense it merely expands upon the existing model, though the variation and enrichment involved in this expansion are enormously far-reaching. This can be partially illustrated by the early Elizabethan playwrights' choice and treatment of their themes and plots. Unlike the interludes very few of their stories are entirely English, while many are predominantly foreign. Yet, the new dramaturgy expands and accentuates the tendency already noticed in the interludes of juxtaposing English and foreign elements in their subject matter. The moral outlook also broadens: even if the new tradition still keeps the well-defined ethos of the old one - more or less overtly expressed - it can also include the moral ambiguity of an Arden of Faversham or a Doctor Faustus. Thus, owing to the cosmopolitan and broadened aspect of the themes and plots of the new dramaturgy, its other elements were bound to change accordingly: the treatment of setting, for instance, was greatly expanded.

2. The Treatment of the Setting

As we have seen, the setting of the majority of the interludes is English, though a few place their action either in a cosmic world or in a geographical vacuum. As far as foreign settings are concerned,

if linguistic anachronism tended to anglicize them, it was mainly because playwrights had not yet learned 'to paint the landscape with words'. It must be said that the word 'setting' will here be used to signify only major geographical entities like England or foreign nations as the fictive localities of the play.

The treatment of settings changes considerably in the new tradition. First, dramatists begin to employ language to convey a temporary illusion of actuality - native or foreign - in the setting of the play. It must be borne in mind, however, that audiences were never encouraged to leave the real world, but rather to superimpose upon it the play world created by the playwright. For, 'the setting illusion was not, as it often is in modern realistic plays, a means of impressing a sense of reality upon the consciousness of the audience, but a means of focussing or expanding its perception'.⁵⁷

Secondly, playwrights learn how to expand the perception of the audience: they either distance the action by placing it in a foreign land or deal with more than one setting in a single play. Thus, whereas most of the interludes centre their action on one locality, the new drama deals with setting in three ways: through concentration, dispersal, or differentiation.⁵⁸

It must be observed that one frequently finds setting treated rather superficially, like the unlocalized scene of July and Julian, the Italy of Gismond of Calerne, and the Spain of Mucedorus. From this evidence it would appear that playwrights felt free to alter the settings of their sources rather arbitrarily and without much apparent consequence for their plots. For instance, in The Taming of a Shrew and The Taming of the Shrew (without probing into the question of who borrowed from whom), the fact remains that, in the former play, the

main action takes place in Greece (Athens), and, in the latter, in Italy (Padua).⁵⁹

At the same time, dramatists were also learning to deal with setting more skilfully. By choosing a setting which could convey powerful associations, or by giving their characters a meaningful socio-geographical context, they could employ the place of the action as a complementary means of dramatic significance - as Lodge did with Rome in The Wounds of Civil War and, more significantly, Marlowe with Malta in The Jew of Malta.

2.1 Concentration on One Setting

When the amplitude and variety of the Elizabethan setting has become a critical commonplace, it is not without surprise that one discovers in the reading of the early Elizabethan drama that the great majority of plays, like the interludes before them, have their action concentrated in only one country. Of course within the geographical limits the localities change quite often, and this fact may have prompted critics to generalize on the amplitude of the setting.

The new playwrights deal with the concentration on one setting in different ways. A specific concentration can be achieved in plays like The Arraignment of Paris and Summer's Last Will and Testament, written for special occasions. In the former, the setting turns out to be Elizabeth's court, where mortals and immortals gather to pay their homage to the Queen; in the latter, both the setting and the place of performance (a nobleman's house) become amalgamated during the action.⁶⁰

A dramatist like Lyly deliberately chooses ungeographical localities to place some of his comedies. Thus, Endimion is set chiefly at Cynthia's court, Love's Metamorphosis in Arcadia, and The Woman in the Moon in Utopia. This choice may either be due to the poet's extreme romanticism or to his confidence in his own ability to create imaginary lands. In the case of The Woman in the Moon, expediency may have played a part. One must remember that this play was performed before Queen Elizabeth, and that 'the emblem of Luna as fickle, slothful, and "lunatic" is no compliment to women or to Diana into whom Pandora is transformed. Such a narrative can be safely set only in Utopia'.⁶¹ Lyly could also transform the real Lincolnshire of Gallathea into the mythical region of the main plot, peopled with gods and nymphs.

Many playwrights concentrated the action on an English setting. It is here that one notices a difference in the treatment of locality between interlude-writers and the new playwrights. Whereas the former generally place their characters somewhere in England, specifying only London, the latter try to locate most of their characters in well-established places. It is not common to find plays like July and Julian, The Old Wives Tale, The Misfortunes of Arthur, and Lochrine, in which the setting is vaguely delineated. The first of these plays provides an extreme case, and it is one of the main reasons why the story remains half-anglicized. For, it is not clear whether the action takes place in the country or in the city, and the only reference to locality comes when we learn that the sheriff is not available because 'he ys gone into kent' (l. 895).

It is more usual to find dramatists grounding their action firmly in English localities as indicated by the very titles of The Two Angry

Women of Abingdon, George a Grece the Pinner of Wakefield, and Arden of Faversham. As Fair Im the Miller's Daughter of Manchester also takes some of its characters to Denmark it will be discussed in the third part of this section.

In the first two plays mentioned above, the countryside and village atmospheres are effectively conveyed through the display of customs and manners, and allusions to local places and characters. In the third play the setting is both convincingly rural and urban, since, at one time, the scene moves to London. The author transports his audience along with him by continuous references to London places (SC. III. 41, 45, 50, 116, 129 and 179).

Two other plays which also take place in specific English localities are Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay and Mother Bombie. The action of the first moves freely between London, Oxford and Fressingfield. Yet, whereas characters like the Emperor of Germany, the King of Castile, his daughter, and the German magician Jacques Vandermaast are present in the first two localities, only English characters are allowed in the countryside of Suffolk - the domain of the Fair Maid of Fressingfield:

A bonnier wench all Suffolk cannot yield.
All Suffolk! Nay, all England holds none such.
(SC. I. 38-9).

In Mother Bombie, Lyly tries to anglicize both the Roman plot and characters by keeping the action firmly set in Rochester and Kent.⁶²

Like Albion Knight, Gorboduc and Republica some history plays - Jack Straw, The True Tragedy of Richard III, II Henry VI, Richard III, and Sir Thomas More - unfold their plots entirely in England. Most of

their scenes take place in London, though Kent is prominent, in Jack Straw since the main events which trigger off the story happen there, whereas in II Henry VI the action is spread all over the country. In this last case, the wide ranging of the scene through England contributes to 'a sense of the whole nation being involved, so that we feel the trail of violence spreading through the land during the civil war between York and Lancaster'.⁶³ Thus, one sees Shakespeare, by concentrating on England, and yet using much of it for his action, exploiting setting to add to the total meaning of the play.

It must be remarked that all these history plays - except The True Tragedy of Richard III - in spite of their predominantly English setting, allow the incursion of foreignness through the presence of foreign characters: a Fleming (Jack Straw), Lombards (Sir Thomas More) and the French Queen Margaret (II & III Henry VI and Richard III).

Though concentrating on one or several localities in England, only exceptionally do the new playwrights employ their native settings more than simply to focus the attention of the audience. The same occurs when they are dealing with other countries. Though the range of foreign settings in the new dramaturgy is far more impressive than that of the interludes, very few of these early Elizabethan dramatists depart from the old tradition by making their foreign locality thematically relevant. Thus, apart from exotic or escapist associations, the Italy of The Bugbears (Florence), Cismond of Salerne and Fedele and Fortunio (Naples); the Greece of Jocasta (Thebes), Sapho and Phao (Syracuse), and Campaspe (Athens); the Africa of Orlando Furioso and Dido Queen of Carthage; the Hungarian - Bohemian Julio of Promos and Cassandra; the Assyria of The Wars of Cyrus; and

the Germany of John of Bordeaux do not convey any special meaning. Their authors are content to guide their audiences' thoughts towards such places, but do not permit any sense of the significance of the locality to be reflected in the dramatic action. After reading all the plays set in one foreign country, one only remembers Gascoigne's efforts in Supposes to make its setting effective in the plot by repeated allusions to Ferrara and its falsehood,⁶⁴ and Lodge in The Wounds of Civil War, and the author of Selimus trying to capitalize on the immediate response that Rome and Turkey respectively could elicit.

Yet, it is Marlowe who makes a new departure in The Jew of Malta by exploiting all the dramatic potentialities of concentrating the action in one foreign place⁶⁵ full of powerful associations. Malta in the play is an island with a majority of Christians and a minority of Jews, and it is visited also by Turks. Thus, it becomes the arena in which Christians and non-Christians confront each other. As G.K. Hunter believes, 'Marlowe seems to have chosen this world of men, as he chose his place, to raise highest expectations of rectitude. But he did so only to reveal the more effectively his view of man's (even monastic man's) essentially fallen condition'.⁶⁶ Malta, then, is not only employed as a place of confrontation between arch-enemies, but it is also dramatically significant because it contributes to enrich the meaning of the play.

2.2 Dispersal of Settings

The dispersal of settings is unusual in the interludes; it only appears in those of the seventies - Clyomon and Clarydes (1570) and Common Conditions (1576) - owing to their romance sources. It is

possible that some of the lost romantic plays of the new tradition would also have displayed a panoramic setting against which knights and ladies would act out their adventures. In the extant plays of the period under discussion, however, the dispersal of settings is characteristic of 'epic' plays, based on native and foreign history. Such are Edward III, Edward I, Alphonsus King of Aragon, I & II Tamburlaine and The Battle of Alcazar. The only exception to this category is Doctor Faustus.

On the whole it may be said that the dispersed setting is more effectively handled than the concentrated setting. For example, in the two English history plays, in spite of the action taking place in England, Flanders, and France in Edward III and in England, Wales, and Scotland in Edward I, the idea behind the dispersal, that of confrontation, remains constant. In the latter play, the King fights against the Welsh and the Scots; in the former, Edward fights against the French in France and in Flanders, having also to cope with the French sovereign's allies (III. 1. p. 121). The idea of confrontation is underlined by these settings, making them emblematic of the conflict between nationalities in the plays.

Peele, Greene and Marlowe use the dispersal of settings for similar purposes in The Battle of Alcazar, Alphonsus King of Aragon and I & II Tamburlaine. Yet, the last two dramatists also use it to convey the wide scope of their heroes' conquests. This scope is emphasized by the lists of kings who either come to their aid or against whom they fight. Obviously these panoramic settings, though contributing thematically to the plays, could hardly convey any sense of actual locality to the audience. The remark made about the localities in Tamburlaine could be applied to Alphonsus King of Aragon:

'there is little or no sense of reality in the places where Tamburlaine operates. Babylon, Natolia, Zanzibar, the Terrene and Euxene seas - these, the last enchantments of the atlas, fitly convey the magic of "the sweet fruition of an earthly crown"; but it adds nothing to imagine the physical reality of such places'.⁶⁷

It is Marlowe again who, in Doctor Faustus, uses setting to enhance the total significance of the play. The scene oscillates between heaven and hell, shifts freely among the spaces of the universe and the different countries of Europe,⁶⁸ but Wittenberg 'frames' these settings: the play opens and finishes in it. Like Malta, the choice of Wittenberg may have been deliberate, since the Doctor Faustus of the source is a strolling scholar.⁶⁹ Marlowe could take advantage of the associations evoked by the name of Wittenberg, connected as it was with Martin Luther, protestantism and learning - its famous university being regarded as the most progressive centre of ideas in Europe. Thus, the dispersal and interrelation of settings clustered around Wittenberg and its evocative power operate as a means of conditioning the entire dramatic statement of the play, as suggested by Faustus's desperate cry:

O, would I had never seen Wittenberg, never
read book!
(SC. XIX. 45-6)

2.3 Differentiation of Settings

The treatment of two different settings is practically unknown in the interludes. It is exceptionally found in Bale's King John (1538) - in which the scene shifts briefly from England to Rome - and, much later, in Wilson's The Three Ladies of London (1581) - in which two scenes take place in Turkey. In the new tradition, however,

contrasting settings are very often found. Playwrights either employ an English and a foreign locality, or two foreign ones.

The first type of juxtaposition is mainly established in the native history plays and historical romances in which England is set in opposition to France. The thematic relevance of this treatment of setting - present in The Famous Victories of Henry V, The Troublesome Reign of King John, Edward II, and I & II Henry VI - as well as the playwrights' exploitation of new dramatic situations have already been discussed in the first section of this chapter. What will be focussed on here is the variation of the employment of two different localities, since it illustrates the expansion of the ways of handling setting in the new dramaturgy.

In Edward II and III Henry VI, the external, international conflict is subsidiary to the internal, national one. Thus, Englishmen and Frenchmen never meet to act out their differences. The authors, however, like Bale and Wilson, enhance the significance of the brief incursions into the secondary setting (France) by making the events occurring there relevant to the development of the plot. In the former play, Gaveston decides to return to England; in the latter, Warwick withdraws his allegiance to Edward, and makes peace with Queen Margaret. It is also worth remarking here that in Woodstock - in which internal dissension is also the theme - the scene makes an important move to Calais, where 'plain Thomas' is murdered.

Other ways of juxtaposing the English and the foreign settings can be seen in King Leir, in which evil lies in Britain, hope and love in France; in Fair Em, in which the actions in England and Denmark run parallel but independently of each other; in The Taming of a Shrew, in which the English setting not only frames the action in Athens but

also impinges upon it through Slie; and in John a Kent and John a Cumber, in which the action moves from Wales to England (Chester) to provide the setting in which two rival magicians confront each other.

As all these examples indicate, the new playwrights took advantage of the dramatic potentialities offered by the contrast between native and foreign settings. Less effective, however, is their treatment of the juxtaposition of two foreign settings. In the previous case, the national theme, the idea of confrontation, the significance of the action in a foreign land, the parallel and framework devices underlined by the fact that one of the settings was English, facilitated the playwrights' task. When dealing with two foreign locations, however, authors could not make them so significant for the action.

Thus, the contrast between Rhodes and Turkey in Solinian and Perseda, Spain and Portugal in The Spanish Tragedy, and Valencia and Aragon in Mucedorus is not fully exploited. This is particularly true in the first instance in which the powerful associations prompted by the Christian Rhodes and the Muslim Turkey are subdued by the romantic interest in the plot.

Only in Midas and The Massacre at Paris do the authors exploit the possibilities accorded to them by a second setting. Midas shifts its last scene to Delphos, where the King loses his ass's ears and gains wisdom. The significance of the action plus its structural position at the end of the play make Delphos stand apart from Phrygia. In The Massacre at Paris there is an idea of confrontation between Catholic France and Protestant Navarre; the text of the play is so corrupt, however, that it does not allow further discussion.

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A few words should be said about the ways the new playwrights conveyed the idea of foreign locations to the audience. One way, already practised by the writers of interludes, was through language, which provoked Sir Philip Sidney's complaint that 'the player, when he cometh in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived'.⁷⁰ Another way was the display of a board above the acting place as the one provided by Hieronimo in the playlet of The Spanish Tragedy:

.... hang up the title,
Our scene is Rhodes,
(IV. 3. 17-18)

As Susanne Langer puts it, this is a practice which 'speaks of a healthy faith in the power of the script to guide the theatrical imagination that is to project it. There is a grand freedom given with the simple indication: "Thebes"'.⁷¹ Robert Speaight, however, seems reluctant to accept that there was such a means as the placard to indicate where the action was supposed to take place: 'in any case', he asserts, 'the dramatist who knew his business was quick to indicate the locality in question, and thenceforward he and the audience between them did the scene-shifting'.⁷²

Whether the new dramatists trusted their own words or placards to state where the play was supposed to happen, the fact remains that both techniques rely on the imagination of the audience. It is this basically imaginative appeal of the setting which also contributes to that flexibility of the treatment of foreignness in the early Elizabethan drama. When the setting was not important, the place could be forgotten. Yet, when the playwright found it necessary, he used

his words, or kept the board, to remind the audience whither it was to transport itself. Thus, the illusion of a foreign setting was variably maintained, and constantly alternating with the reality of the audience's world.

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The expansion which characterizes the new tradition is well illustrated by the playwrights' treatment of setting. Some follow interlude-writers in their concentration on one locality, though their cosmopolitan subject matter considerably increases the range of their choice. Others welcome the new tendency to deal with a multiple setting hardly ever found in the interludes. This type provides the new dramaturgy with the possibility of widening its field of action, varying the ways of handling the setting, and making some localities dramatically significant. The mixture of English and foreign elements observable in most of the stories of the new tradition may also be verified in many of its settings. As has already been suggested, foreign characters often invade English settings and vice-versa. The reasons for and the circumstances of such a coexistence will be discussed in the next subsection.

3. Elizabethans and Elizabethan Foreigners

The change from a drama which purposed to be a 'looking-glass for England' to one which aimed more generally at being 'a mirror up to nature' was bound to affect the concept of character and its treatment.

In the late interludes allegorical characters were already receding from the stage, and with a few exceptions, they do not appear in the new drama. The range of social types one finds in the

reading of the interludes is likewise reduced in this early phase of the Elizabethan drama. Though the characters of this drama are far from being individuals in the full sense of the word, they are much more individualized than their interlude counterparts.

Not only the types but also the functions of the characters change accordingly. Whereas in the interludes the personages were mainly used as conveyors of patterns of conduct, the new tradition can afford to depict them more naturalistically, because the burden of the moral message of the play has mostly been taken off their shoulders. Being no longer restricted to the illustration of an idea, their task is now mainly to display the wide range of human character, though they can still elicit a moral response.

The social status of the main characters is also modified. Most of the characters put on the stage during the first decades of the Elizabethan drama belong to the aristocracy. Though, to the despair of classicists like Sidney and Whetstone, the new drama - carrying on the popular tradition of the interludes of setting the most diverse characters side by side - still mingles kings and clowns,⁷³ and, often, of different nationalities as well. It is this coexistence of English and foreign characters in the same play which, though already present in the interludes, is taken further by the later drama. It must be remarked here that, although this subsection is divided into 'Elizabethans' and 'Elizabethan Foreigners', the division should be regarded only as a technique for the discussion of the material.

In dealing with the foreignness of characters, it is important to remember that the drama in question - like its predecessor - relies a great deal on the spectators' imagination. In varying measure, and when

it suits them, playwrights inform the audience of the foreigners of their characters. Yet, whereas the majority of the main characters of the interludes are English, their counterparts in the early drama are mostly foreign. The idea underlying the foreignness of these characters is thus worth discussing in some detail.

To begin with, the same distinction of treatment observed in the interludes between foreign characters in foreign settings and foreign characters in native settings is observed in the new drama, and will be dealt with below. Here it is convenient to point out that the foreignness ascribed to characters in foreign lands would be threatened during the course of performance mainly owing to the function of anachronism. Generally dressing, talking, and behaving like contemporary Englishmen and women, on a stage almost bare and in full daylight, these characters seemed bound to betray their native origin. Yet, although they are generally anglicized in the interludes, in the new drama these foreign characters are allowed to waver between their fictive nationalities and that of the players.

At this point, Bethell's principle of the multi-consciousness of the Elizabethan audience can be brought to mind. For us, readers of these plays, with our twentieth-century imagination limited by the conception of photographic realism, it is hard to imagine that such oscillation could be possible. Yet, owing to the audience's long training in the popular conventions of both the medieval drama and the interludes, it was natural for it to juxtapose the dramatic illusion of foreignness with the Englishness of its reality.

It is because most critics deal with Elizabethan characters without taking into consideration the conditions of performance that they can make statements like C.J. Sisson's that 'tous les

personnages du théâtre elisabéthain, au fond, sont des Anglais de la Renaissance ¹⁷⁴ (my italics). Also, if one accepts the idea of foreignness as a further ramification of the principle of multi-consciousness mentioned above, one can reconcile what Allardyce Nicoll sees as a sharp divergence between scene and character:

Athens, Illyria, Messina, and France - these carry the mind beyond even the ordinary city atmosphere of the theatre to a different age and to a different locality Whereas some of the persons have a more romantic colouring than the others, the majority are more or less realistically drawn in the sense that they reflect the manners and the types of Elizabethan England. Sir Toby Belch is no more an Illyrian than Bottom is a citizen of Athens. Abstractly considered, such a sharp divergence between scene and character might be thought fatal to the production of any homogeneous work of art, but it is the triumph of the comedy of romance ⁷⁵ that it has overcome the many difficulties in its path.

It is worth remarking that the critic illustrates his point with comic characters who, like their interlude counterparts, are always English regardless of the foreign setting they are in. But even if he had chosen different examples, his view, as a generalization, would still be questionable. If one remembers that the foreignness of the scene and the character had to be imagined, and that both could be brought back to reality at any time, then there was no 'sharp divergence' between them. It is not 'the triumph of the comedy of romance' that overcomes the apparent discrepancy between scene and character, but the triumph of the popular theatre conventions adopted by this drama and the dual consciousness of the audience which brought illusion and reality into harmony.

Now it is pertinent to ask how the conditions of performance could have influenced the foreignness of characters who had to appear ostensibly foreign out of dramatic necessity. As has already been proposed, anachronism of words and costume was a constant threat to

the idea of foreignness. Language, as a very variable device, could build up foreignness in a few lines and destroy it by an anachronistic reference. As far as the more stable artifice of costume was concerned there is as little information about a 'foreign costume' in the new drama as there is about its use in the interludes. Yet, owing to the great number of foreign personages in the new tradition, there must have been some means of conveying nationality through dress. For example, M.C. Bradbrook suggests that there was a 'Turkish costume', and that a Dutchman's slops or a Spaniard's cloak would be employed.⁷⁶ Harley Granville-Barker's approach to the problem in Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra seems applicable to the present case. He says:

It is not likely that Shakespeare troubled to give a French touch to Love's Labour's Lost and an Italian to Much Ado About Nothing; nor, had his knowledge run to it, would he probably have seen much gain in dressing Romeo and Juliet by 'the paintings of Giotto and his pupils'. But when some dramatic end was to be served, it is clear that he did not lack means of a kind, and he used them. In Macbeth, the Scots and the English can be told apart, British and Romans in Cymbeline; and in this play, quite evidently, Roman and Egyptian stood in picturesque contrast.⁷⁷

This is basically Bethell's view when commenting on the same play. He suggests that Cleopatra 'wore Elizabethan stays, but her costume would have bizarre elements about it, Egyptian enough to a Globe audience, if shocking to the modern Egyptologist'.⁷⁸ If these conjectures are right, then the oscillation between Englishness and foreignness observed in the majority of the main characters could also be verified in the costume of some foreign personages.

There was also, it would appear, some attempt at least to convey the foreignness of certain characters through make-up. For Barabas, there is Henslowe's well-known evidence that he had a 'bottle nose'; but it is arguable that a secondary character like the Jew Abraham of

Selinus would be made up to look different from those who shared the scene with him. As far as Moors were concerned, they would almost certainly be presented as black. This conspicuous sign of foreignness would be most significant for a contemporary audience for nothing could be 'as impressive as the total sable of the Moor; which was seen as an emblem of Hell, of damnation, as the natural livery of the devil'.⁷⁹

3.1 Elizabethans

The move towards naturalism in the character portrayal of the new drama already referred to makes its playwrights either dispense with allegorical characters altogether, or relegate them to positions peripheral to the main action. Thus, one finds Envy and Comedy in the induction to Mucedorus, and Truth and Poetry in that of The True Tragedy of Richard III. Love, Fortune and Death not only appear in the induction of Soliman and Perseda, but are also part of the chorus, re-appearing at the end of each act. Only occasionally are these characters given an important role. For instance, Revenge, in The Spanish Tragedy, though placed in the framework of the play, is able to influence events which shape the main intrigue. The Seven Deadly Sins are present in the main plot of Doctor Faustus (SC. VI. 112-69), with the function of distracting the protagonist's mind from turning to God.

Unlike their interlude counterparts, these allegorical characters exist only in very limited and formalized roles, and consequently, are devoid of any human attributes. They cannot be said to be anglicized, though Gluttony in Doctor Faustus can arouse feelings of homeliness for the audience by mentioning that his/her godparents

were Peter Pickled-herring, Martin Martlemas-beef (SC. VI. 150-1); and Margery March-beer (SC. VI. 154).

Many of the personages that composed the great gallery of social types in the interludes are missing in the early Elizabethan drama. They will re-appear with a few additions in the city comedies of the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is worth noticing, however, that some of the recurrent figures one comes across - braggart soldiers, shrewish wives, simple countrymen, and witty pages - are also found in the interludes with the same characteristics.

The braggart appears as Captain Crackstone in Fedele and Fortunio, Sir Tophas in Endimion, and Basilisco in Soliman and Perseda. Like Ralph Roister Doister before them, they all boast of their false courage and fall in love unsuccessfully.

Both John Cobbler of The Famous Victories of Henry V and Bullithrumble, the shepherd of Selimus, share the misfortune of Johan Johan and Tom Tyler: they have shrews for wives. Bullithrumble is particularly keen on relating his troubles to the audience, and gives a description of the commonest shrewish attributes (ll. 1879-1907). In Locrine, Strumbo agrees to marry Margery through the persuasion of her tongue and blows (ll. 1180-1205), having no illusions about what his fate will be:

Maisters I thinke it be my lucke, my first wife was a
loving quiet wench, but this I thinke would weary the
divell. I would she might be burnt as my other wife
was. If not, I must runne to the halter for help.
(ll. 1210-13)

Lyly's pages - Criticus in Sapho and Phao, Dares, Samias and Epiton in Endimion, and Potulus and Licio in Midas - all behave in the same

way as Will in The Marriage of Wit and Science, and the two roguish pages of Damon and Pithias, either making witty remarks or playing practical jokes.

The only new low-life character is the clown; he could not have existed in the interludes as he would not have been able to compete with the Vice's comical side and closeness of contact with the audience. The relationship between the Vice and the clown has not been definitely established by criticism,⁸⁰ and, through limitations of relevance and space, cannot be fully explored here. What is clear is that, though both figures are contemporary in the first decades of the Elizabethan drama - for instance, the late interludes All for Money (1577), The Three Ladies of London (1581), and The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (1588) all contain Vices - they exist apart from each other in their own respective traditions. Though the clown - like the Vice - can simply be himself and retain his non-representational function, occasionally the former can be portrayed as a servant, as in The Wounds of Civil War, or Slipper in The Scottish History of James IV.

These types are all comic, and it is a practice of the popular stage to give a contemporary native personality to the comic personage, irrespective of the time and place in which he is supposed to live. Thus, in the new drama, it is very common to see foreign princes companions of English clowns and low-life characters. This juxtaposition adds plausibility to the suggestion that the new dramaturgy is neither - like the interludes - predominantly English, nor entirely foreign, but a combination of both. Although interludes like Cambises, Appius and Virginia, and Horestes, already present their foreign worlds invaded by English low-life characters, owing

to the non-cosmopolitan outlook of the interludes in general, this is not a common practice. The developing tradition, however, in many instances, shows an intrusion of Englishness into its foreign-inspired subject matter through the presence of low-life characters.

It is also worth noticing that, with the exception of Lyly's pages already mentioned, these low-life personages mostly keep their English names as had their antecessors in the interludes. Thus, one finds Will and Tom in the Greece of The Taming of a Shrew, Mouse in the Spain of Ilucedorus, Tom and Ralph in the Africa of Orlando Furioso, Piston in the Rhodes of Soliman and Perseda, and Bullithrubble in the Turkey of Selimus, making no effort to disguise who they are and where they come from.

It has already been remarked that the main plots of the new tradition are dominated by high-ranking characters. In the interludes there are princes like Albion Knight, Magnificence, and John; aristocrats like Fulgens, Damon and Pithias; and a few knights - either realistic social types or romantic characters of the world of legend. But the majority of the interlude personages are either universalized - for example, Everyman, Mankind, Worldly Man - or belong to a non-aristocratic milieu - for example, Juventus, Moros, and the representatives of the different social groups. The new drama, however, is mainly peopled by characters with whom the greater part of the audience could not identify itself. This is another factor which contributes to the increasing distance between the plays of the new tradition and their audience. Whereas in the interludes, an ordinary Englishman could watch his own moral-religious and/or socio-political worries affecting a character like himself, it is doubtful whether he could watch the plight of mighty men with the same degree of empathy.

There are well-known reasons for the predominance of aristocrats - whether native or foreign - in the early Elizabethan drama. For example, the classical theory of tragedy demanding figures of high social rank for protagonists,⁸¹ the influence of Seneca and Machiavel on the creation of kingly figures motivated by high personal ambition,⁸² and the sources - history, classical narratives, and romances - with their focus on aristocratic personages. Sociological reasons also suggest themselves: if Jean Duvignaud is right, the predominance of wicked princes - English and foreigners alike - reflects the admiration for and the fear of the new individualism which was clashing with old feudal values.⁸³ Even if one regards this last view as a simplification, the fact remains that the new playwrights, as has already been observed, show a marked preference for wicked kings.⁸⁴ There are ancient ones like Arthur and Locrine, and more recent ones like Edward II, Richard II of Woodstock, and Richard III, just to mention the native examples for the purpose of this section.

All these monarchs are presented as disrupting the socio-political harmony, bringing about civil dissension and disorder. Richard II, for example, does not hesitate to endanger the existing order for his friends' sake:

Let crown and kingdom waste, yea life and all,
Before King Richard see his true friends fall!
(Woodstock, IV. 1. p. 225)

They all put their own personal passions above the Commonwealth: Arthur, his incestuous relationship with his sister Anne; Locrine, his passion for the captive queen Estrild; Richard III, his thirst for power; Richard II and Edward II, their love for their minions. In short, they are all shown as inadequately patriotic, ruining the land that it was their duty to protect. They stand in contrast with

the earlier princely figures of Magnificence and Gor'oduc who misruled under the influence of bad political advisers.

These unworthy princes, unlike the royal personages of the interludes above - whose plight was similar to that of the Mankind figure - must have aroused a complex response on the part of the audience. On the one hand, their national, emblematic aspect - they are well-known historical figures, representatives of the Commonwealth - conveys an idea of immediacy and familiarity; on the other, their transnational, naturalistic aspect - they are strange beings in the uniqueness of both their status and passions - alienates them from the spectator.

It can, therefore, be concluded that the native characters of the early Elizabethan drama generally come either from the bottom or from the top of the social hierarchy. Whereas figures from the former class continue the interlude tradition of an intimate relationship with the audience, representatives of the latter class are distanced from the spectators in varying degrees, the good king perhaps less than the bad one. Unlike interlude-writers, however, the new dramatists do not show much interest in the members of the middle classes. They are only represented in The Two Angry Women of Abingdon and Arden of Faversham.

3.2 Elizabethan Foreigners

In the interludes the treatment of foreigners differs according to the setting - non-native or native - in which they are placed. The new tradition keeps this distinction of treatment: whereas foreigners in foreign settings are not treated as foreigners in the sense that they are self-consciously un-English, the foreignness of non-English

characters is more accentuated when these characters have a role to play in an English story or are presented as living in England. Yet, the new playwrights handle the presentation of foreigners in foreign lands differently from interlude-writers.

The main difference between these characters and those of the interludes under the same circumstances lies in the anglicization of the latter. Whereas the personages of the new drama oscillate between Englishness and foreignness (that is, the illusion of a different nationality), interlude-characters, on the whole, make little use of their foreignness. Owing to the reasons already discussed - the didacticism of the old tradition, its inward-looking tendency, a more frequent discontinuity of the illusory process, and the closer relationship between characters and spectators - the Romans of Fulgens and Lucres, the Italians of Patient Grissell, and the Boeotians of The Cobbler's Prophecy, hardly betray their non-English origin. It should also be borne in mind that the language of the new drama - as will be suggested in the next subsection - possessed what the language of the earlier drama lacked: the power to convey foreignness, and guide the audience's imagination beyond the limits of national boundaries.

If all low-life characters are permanently English, regardless of the time and place of the action, it follows that foreignness is an attribute of aristocratic personages in foreign countries. Excepting the respectively Welsh, Scottish and German magicians of John a Kent and John a Cumber, John of Bordeaux and Doctor Faustus, and Barabas in The Jew of Malta, the main foreign protagonists of the early Elizabethan drama, like its native ones, all belong to a high social rank.

If, on the one hand, the social types of the interludes are reduced in the new tradition, on the other, the range of nationalities of its characters increases remarkably. For instance, they can be Romans like those of The Wounds of Civil War; Greeks in Jocasta and The Taming of a Shrew; Italians in Gismond of Salerne; French in The Massacre at Paris; Germans in Doctor Faustus, and Turks in Selimus. They can also belong to places unknown to geography like many of Lyly's characters who are Arcadians in Love's Metamorphosis, Utopians in The Woman in the Moon, or, simply, Cynthia's subjects in Endimion.

This wide range of different nationalities endows the new tradition with dramatic possibilities unknown to the interludes. Sometimes playwrights exploit the rivalry between two different nationalities, as, for example, the Spanish and the Portuguese in The Spanish Tragedy, on a political level; and the Welsh and the Scottish magicians in John a Kent and John a Cumber, on a more personal level. More frequently, however, as an expression of that expansion and taste for multiplicity which distinguishes the new tradition from the old, some plays present a series of different nationalities. There are, for instance, the international characters of Soliman and Perseda, Orlando Furioso, The Jew of Malta, and the so-called 'conqueror plays': I & II Tamburlaine, Alphonsus King of Aragon, The Battell of Alcazar, Selimus, and The Wars of Cyrus. Thus, an Elizabethan audience would have a panoramic view of the world of the play through the presence of representatives of the different nations - some of them quite unknown to most spectators.

In this early phase of the Elizabethan drama these foreign characters in non-native settings are, like those of the interludes,

not necessarily good or bad because of their nationality. The only exceptions are the non-Christian characters, for reasons which will be discussed below. It is only in the later drama that some countries and their citizens receive an ambivalent treatment.⁸⁵ In the formative decades, however, the Romans, the Greeks, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese and the Germans of the Elizabethan drama are portrayed after the pattern established by the interludes, and are not greatly different from English characters. Their foreignness may be exploited or not according to the playwright's ability or dramatic necessity. On occasion, however, the new dramatists can deviate from the pattern: this happens when their anti-foreign sentiment brands an enemy foreigner as evil even in plays with non-English settings. For example, Lodge does not hesitate to include an anachronistic Frenchman with a Spanish name (Pedro) to murder Marius in The Wounds of Civil War (III. 2. 65-97), and Greene imposes on a Frenchman the task of slaying Queen Dorothea in The Scottish Pistorie of James IV (II. 2. 201-5). But, on the whole, the new drama continues the tradition of its predecessor of treating aliens in an unbiased way so long as their foreignness is regarded as a purely dramatic device, and does not pose a threat to nationalism.

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When foreign characters are either relevant to an English story, or are placed in a native setting, then they are made to behave in an 'un-English' way, that is, a way dictated by ideas mainly derived from simple national prejudice. As has been seen, the unflattering and conventional dramatic portraiture of certain foreigners already appears in the interludes, with the vain French, the drunken Dutch, and the proud Spaniard. The new drama, though expanding its gallery of foreignness, continues to treat certain nationalities in this

xenophobic way. Yet it may be suggested that, in the new tradition, the anti-foreign sentiment which contributed to the categorization of foreigners in such narrow types may have been strengthened by other reasons. For example, it has been said that

this tendency to fix a type was started by the voyagers, whose portraits were then accepted and presented on the stage. Leo Africanus conveys a picture of the average Moor, and his characteristics are reproduced by Shakspeare. The matter is endlessly complicated. Other dramatists, perhaps having no direct contact with the voyagers at all, take up and repeat the theme. And presently the outlander is seen showing as much variation as the old cartoons of Uncle Sam.⁸⁶

Another reason for the stereotyped characterization of foreigners in the new drama may be found in the doctrine of decorum, which not only taught that speech and behaviour must be appropriate to the person, the place, the circumstances, and the purposes of the work, but also distinguished between the differences in the sexes, the trades, the social classes and the different nationalities.⁸⁷ Thus, Thomas Wilson's Art of Rhetoric, first published in 1553, says that Englishmen are known 'for feeding, and changing of apparel: The Ducheman for drinking: the Frencheman for pride and inconstance: The Spaniard for nimblenes of body, and moche disdain: the Italian for great witte and pollicie: The Scottes for boldnesse, and the Boeme for stubbornesse!'.⁸⁸

It seems, then, feasible to propose that the unpleasant attributes of foreigners in the Elizabethan drama were not dictated by xenophobia alone. As Madeleine Doran points out throughout Endeavors of Art, English dramatists, though refusing to follow theory blindly, did not work in critical darkness. The doctrine of decorum was well-known, as Whetstone's Epistle Dedicatory to his Promos and Cassandra indicates. Thus, there are grounds for believing that the depiction of

foreign types could have been influenced by it. What is interesting to observe is that, whether dictated by xenophobia or by literary considerations, or both, the national characteristics listed by Wilson generally correspond to those exhibited in the interludes as well as in the new tradition by foreigners in England. The fact remains that foreigners - when made to stand out in their foreignness - are mainly depicted in unflattering colours. Lyly's prologue to Midas is rather exceptional in its comparatively harmless allusions:

Inquire at ordinaries, there must be salads for the Italian,
picktooths for the Spaniard, pots for the German, porridge
for the Englishman.

(ll. 8-10)

On the whole it is possible to say that the new tradition handles foreign personages in English settings in much the same way as the interludes. Not only are these characters presented in an unpleasant light, but they derive most of their foreignness from their contrast with English characters. Yet there are a few variations from this large pattern practised by both types of drama. In the interludes foreignness is often used as a disguise - mainly by the Vice; yet, except for Barabas's disguise as a French fiddler in The Jew of Malta, this device is never employed in the early phase of the Elizabethan drama, though it appears later.⁸⁹ On the other hand, whereas in the interludes, the presence of foreigners in the native scene is little exploited dramatically, the new drama succeeds in using it to create effective dramatic situations. Also the new tradition occasionally presents an attitude of tolerance not to be found in the interludes towards foreigners contrasted with Englishmen.

The foreigners who appear in English settings or play a part in English stories in the first decades of the Elizabethan drama are the French, the Scots, the Spaniards, and the Lombards. The Dutch, prominent in the interludes and again in late Elizabethan drama, only make a very brief appearance in Jack Straw.

The French are made laughable in both The Famous Victories of Henry V and I Henry VI. In the latter, the standard view of the French character as inconstant is twice expressed (II. 3. 85 and IV. 1. 137-8). The French Gaveston of Edward II is guilty of the sin of personal vanity so often connected with the French in the interludes:

He wears a lord's revenue in his back
And lidas - like he jets it in the court
He wears a short Italian hooded cloak
Larded with pearl; and in his Tuscan cap
A jewel of more value than the crown.
(I. 4. 406-7, 412-14)

The Scots, the opponents of the English in George a Greene, Edward I, and Edward III, are portrayed as wild, quarrelsome, and generally wicked. This last characteristic is accentuated by contrasting them with 'good King Edward' in George a Greene, and the princely paragons Edward I and Edward III. The Welsh suffer from the same comparison in Edward I, although in the light comedy John a Kent and John a Cumber, the Scots and the Welsh are hardly different from English characters.

A new development in the handling of foreigners in England is provided by the treatment of the foreign wives of some monarchs. When the queens' original countries happen to be contemporary political enemies, these wives are unflatteringly depicted, and their foreign vices are sharply contrasted with the virtues of their English husbands. Such are Elinor of Spain in Edward I and Margaret of

France in Henry VI. As a matter of fact, the former is ambivalently portrayed in the play: she is both the 'lovely Nell' of other plays,⁹⁰ and the diabolical representative of Spanish pride full of disdain for her English subjects. The corrupt text allows one to assume that the second image was superimposed on a complete text to serve the Spanishphobia of the time.⁹¹ It is only when the queens are born in lands which do not evoke any political associations that they are romantically portrayed - like the Scythian Estrild in Locrine and Anne of Bohemia in Woodstock.

Although foreigners in the native setting of the interludes are regarded as intruders - for example, Hance in Wealth and Health, and the many references to undesirable 'strangers' - this intrusion remains in the periphery of the plot. It is the new drama which occasionally weaves this situation into the fabric of the whole play. The motif of the foreigner as disturber of the social harmony is acted out by Gaveston in Edward II. The same may be said of the queens Elinor in Edward I and Margaret in Henry VI. The former's ambiguous characterization obscures the effects of her harmful actions, but there is no doubt that the latter is much to blame for the civil dissension of her husband's reign:

For what hath broach'd this tumult but thy pride?
Hadst thou been meek, our title still had slept;
And we, in pity of the gentle King,
Had slipp'd our claim until another age.

(III Henry VI, II. 2. 159-62)

This motif is slightly modified for Estrild: the beautiful foreigner is again responsible for the civil war in Locrine, though unwittingly so.

Whenever foreigners are contrasted with Englishmen in the interludes they are invariably wicked or ridiculous. Though this is again largely true in the new tradition, a few plays show signs of a more open-minded attitude towards foreigners, which may be regarded as a consequence of that outward-looking and cosmopolitan trend of this drama. It must be pointed out that the plays in which such tolerance is expressed - Midas (1589), Edward III (1590), and Sir Thomas More (1591?) - belong to the end of the early phase of the Elizabethan drama. This signifies that while the two traditions are contemporary both share the same prejudiced attitude towards foreigners when these are presented as foils to the English.

Lyly's Midas, though not dealing directly with the native scene, presents a theme relevant to England, and foreigners who invite comparison with the English - Philip II and his people. What is remarkable about this play is the mildness of the satire when nationalistic fervour was at its peak. The protagonist is not seen as a villain but as a Mankind figure, reminiscent of that prince Magnificence, who errs through bad advice but eventually repents.⁹² Apart from Midas's evil counsellors, the other 'Phrygians', chiefly Midas's daughter (Sophronia), are sympathetically portrayed. In this court play the tolerance shown towards such enemies as the Spaniards may be due to the Queen's own moderate foreign policy.⁹³ It may also be due to the fact that Midas is not only a political allegory but also a moral play.

Another sympathetic treatment of foreigners is found in Edward III, an intensely patriotic play which eulogizes the figure of the king. Surprisingly enough, the French enemies are depicted in a way that shows that loyalty and honour are not English privileges. As has been

said, 'ultimately, King John of France and perhaps the Dauphin Philip are the only villains. The French are a good people misgoverned'.⁹⁴ The playwright's open-minded attitude may be partly explained by the fact that the central concern of the play is not Edward's war against France, but the relationship between the king's law and the moral law.⁹⁵

Foreign immigrants - so cried against in the interludes - appear in Jack Straw and Sir Thomas More. In the former, they are represented by only one Fleming, who is allowed a single phrase before being killed by the Kentish rebels. In the latter, however, it is the presence of aliens in London which gives rise to the riots of Ill May Day. The main author of the play has used Hall's Chronicle as his source for the rebellion and the events leading up to it. He keeps the prejudices of his source,⁹⁶ and presents two Lombards in the worst possible light in the opening scene. No wonder that rioters like Doll carry their anti-foreign feelings to the scaffold:

So long as I an Englishman can see,
Nor ffrenche nor dutche shall get a kisse of me
And when that I am dead, for me yet say,
I dyed in scorne to be a straungers preye.
(ll. 686-9)

Read without Addition II this play is undoubtedly anti-foreign; yet this Addition (Hand D) changes this reading. In his first speech on behalf of the foreigners, More appeals to the rebels' feelings, and draws for them a pathetic picture of the 'wretched straungers' leaving England with 'their babyes at their backs' and their 'poor lugage' (ll. 197-9). In his second speech, More invites his fellow-citizens to imagine themselves as immigrants:

..... woold yo^u be pleasd
to find a nation of such barbarous temper
that breaking out in hiddious violence
woold not afoord yo^u, an abode on earth
whett their detested knyves against yo^r throtes
spurne yo^u lyke doggs, and lyke as yf that god
owed not nor made not yo^u, nor that the claments
wer not all appropriat to [ther] yo^r Comforts
but Charterd unto them, what woold yo^u thinck
to be thus usd, this is the straingers case
and this your momtanish inhumanyty
(11. 253-63)

These pleas for the foreigners not only underline the greatness of the title-character, but also enrich the dramatic meaning by setting More's human and tolerant attitude towards foreigners against the xenophobia of the rioters.⁹⁷

Thus, it may be concluded that the new playwrights followed the pattern established by interlude-writers when contrasting foreigners with Englishmen. Yet, a few authors depart from the interlude tradition by projecting an unprejudiced image of these foreigners, when they appear in plays which transcend narrow socio-political purposes.

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Both in the old and the new traditions, then, the presentation of the national characteristics of foreigners is superficial and biased, but is disregarded when these characters are placed in non-native settings. Yet, there is another level of the idea of foreignness which could never be disregarded, and which Elizabethan authors, unlike interlude-writers (except Wilson), could capitalize on to elicit a full response from their audiences: the foreignness of the non-Christian races. These were doubly foreign - ethnographically and religiously. Nevertheless, as G.K. Hunter has proposed, the religious differences were older - and, consequently, stronger - than the ethnographical ones, going back to the ancient, conflict between God and the Devil,

between Christian and anti-Christian.⁹⁸ That is why the non-Christianity of the Jews 'like that of pagans, infidels, Moors, and Turks gave depth of meaning to "foreignness" that mere difference of European race could hardly do'.⁹⁹

Supporting Hunter's idea is the fact that, unlike European foreigners, Moors, Turks, and Jews are unpleasantly depicted in the new drama, regardless of the setting they are in. As a matter of fact, none of them is ever placed in an English setting; moreover, with the exception of the episode of Thomas Stukeley in The Battle of Alcazar, none of them is ever seen in contrast with an Englishman. This is also true of Wilson's The Three Ladies of London, the only interlude to present a Turk and a Jew; as will be remembered, the scene moves to Turkey where these characters confront the Italian Mercatore. In this interlude, as well as in the new drama, the opposition between Europeans and these more exotic races is mainly exploited in religious terms: Christians against non-Christians. This allows the early Elizabethan playwrights to handle the dramatic conflict fostered by the idea of foreignness from another perspective.

The Moors are less clearly delineated than the Turks and the Jews in the formative phase of the Elizabethan drama. The Moorish kings who appear in Tamburlaine and in Alphonsus King of Aragon have little to do except add to the list of those vanquished by the conqueror heroes. It is in The Battle of Alcazar, however, that the Moors are opposed to the Christians, represented by Sebastian, King of Portugal and the English Thomas Stukeley. For an Elizabethan audience, the opposition would be further reinforced by the national feelings aroused by the presence of the famous adventurer. Of course the Moors present all the fierceness and treachery necessary to subdue Sebastian and his followers.

The Turks are more fully and unflatteringly portrayed. In Alphonsus King of Aragon, Soliman and Perseda, and Seli.us, part of the dramatic conflict is expressed in terms of Christian and non-Christian. In the first play, Aturack, the Great Turk, fails to secure Mahomet's help against the Christian King, and is vanquished. In the second, the Emperor of the Turks is the opponent of the Christian lovers Erasmus and Perseda, with the Turkish invasions of Rhodes, supplying the background to the unfolding of the story. In Selimus, the conflict is minimized, and only appears when Selinus's second brother and rival to the throne (Corcut) becomes a Christian (ll. 2138-60).

Yet, it is Marlowe who gives this dramatic conflict a new treatment. In The Jew of Malta, Jews, Muslims, and Christians confront one another. Whereas in the other plays discussed above the moral superiority of the Christians is undeniable, in Marlowe's play there is no clear-cut contrast since the non-Christian characters display their evil nature in the context of the moral ambiguity of the Christians.¹⁰⁰ The only good character is the Jewess Abigail who becomes a Christian. It is worth pointing out that she also illustrates the motif of the beautiful foreigner who brings about destruction, by being indirectly responsible for her lover's death.

If Marlowe provides his audience with more than one possibility of viewing the Christian versus non-Christian conflict in the above play, he elicits the same complex response in Tamburlaine, through different means. Here the opposition is between non-Christians, and so the audience is not obviously invited to take sides. Yet, it must have applauded the Turkish Bajazet's humiliation and death at the hands of Tamburlaine at the same time that it must have deplored

the former's suffering and the latter's many atrocities. But the fact remains that the Scythian succeeded in commanding admiration for his magnificent figure, the enormity of his daring, the grandeur of his conquests and the power of his language. That an infidel could be so popular with a Christian audience must have seemed as puzzling to the moralists of the time as it was to the author of The Troublesome Reign of King John, as indicated by his address to the gentlemen readers:

You that with friendly grace of smoothed brow
Have entertained the Scythian Tamburlaine,
And given applause unto an Infidel:
Vouchsafe to welcome (with like curtesie)
A warlike Christian and your Countreyman.
(p. 72)

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It has, then, been suggested that, in the handling of both native and non-native characters, the new drama carries on some of the patterns of the old, but also adds a few variations, and breaks entirely new ground. The main departures from the interlude tradition may be seen, first, in the naturalistic traits given to most characters, which are no longer treated as mere purveyors of the moral message of the play; second, in the great number of foreign personages, which expands the gallery of portraits of the new drama; third, in the fact that these foreign characters are neither anglicized nor exactly foreign, oscillating between Englishness and foreignness during the course of performance. Among other factors, the new dramatic language is greatly responsible for this oscillation.

4. The Old and the New Functions of the Dramatic Language

Interlude-writers, with their mistrust of rhetoric - the consequence of their aesthetics of didacticism - developed a plain,

direct style which proved very effective for their dramatic purposes. Yet if on the one hand, this language could convey Englishness through intimacy, spontaneity, and contemporaneity, on the other hand, it failed to convey foreignness convincingly - whenever necessary - because of its lack of poetic power. It is the language of the new tradition, changing a drama written in verse into poetic drama, which is chiefly responsible for bringing about the idea of foreignness. This does not mean that the new playwrights forsook the task of using language as a means of fostering immediacy and making the spectators participants in the play-making process. They continued the tradition of interlude-writers, employing such devices as direct address, soliloquy, asides, proverbs, and oaths. Poetry only expanded the power of their dramatic expression and added other functions to it, so that it could cope with the range of the playwrights' enlarged dramatic horizons.

The idea of the expansion of the dramatic language is verified not only in its newly-acquired functions but also in its eloquence, displayed in its exuberant flow of words, multiplicity of detail, and adornment of style, shunned by interlude-writers. The early Elizabethan dramatists share a different conception of rhetoric and proclaim their faith in the power of eloquence. Their heroes are endowed with such power that they can persuade murderers to change their plans, as does Leir,

This old man is some strong Magician:
His words have turned my mind from this
exploit.
(King Lear, II. 1637-8)

and Anthony,

Why, what enchanting terms of art are these
That force my heart to pity his distress?
(The Wounds of Civil War, IV. 2. 112-3) 101

The theory of decorum also preached an elevated style to suit the themes of tragedies and histories, dealing with the careers of great personages.¹⁰² It is worth observing that Arden of Feversham, notable for its Englishness, also carries on the tradition of the plain style of the interludes, possibly because of the social rank of the characters. In the last lines of the play, however, its anonymous author explains his reasons for choosing such a style:

Gentlemen, we hope you'll pardon this naked tragedy
Wherein no filed points are foisted in
To make it gracious to the ear or eye;
For simple truth is gracious enough
And needs no other points of glozing stuff.
(ll. 14-18)

Dramatic eloquence was also made possible through the adoption of a new poetic medium: blank verse. It had first been employed in Corboduc (1562) but interlude-writers ignored it until Wilson used it again in The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (1588) by which time the interlude tradition was dying. The new drama, however, employed blank verse from the beginning. One exception is Gismond of Salerne (1568) which makes use of rhyme. It is significant, however, that one of the authors (R. Wilmot) in the revised edition of the play - Tancred and Gismund (1591) - recast the rhyming lines into blank verse as part of his intention to present the tragedy 'newly revived and polished according to the decorum of these daies', as the title-page puts it.

The expansion of the dramatic language, though centred in its poetry, also includes prose. The interludes, apart from Gascoigne's The Glass of Government (1575), and a few prose passages in Wilson's The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London, never employed prose. It is the prerogative of the new dramatic language to welcome it.

Very few plays are entirely written in prose, though Gascoigne's Supposes and the majority of Lyly's are. But the alternation of prose with verse is practised by most dramatists in varying measure. Prose is usually the medium for conveying Englishness, since most low-life characters speak it.

Thus it may be said that the language of the new drama, through its skilful manipulation of verse and prose, is perfectly equipped to help the early Elizabethan dramatists to strike that characteristic equilibrium between illusion and reality; for, as has been said, 'this stage and the style of drama played on it enjoyed a system of built-in balances between the forces drawing the spectator to identify with the faces in the mirror and those which reminded him that they were reflections'.¹⁰³

It is the aim of this section to suggest how the language of the new drama accumulated the functions of conveying both Englishness and foreignness: either drawing the spectators' attention to their native world or transporting them to the foreign universe of the play. The latter function provides the major difference between the old and the new traditions, and since there is little basis for comparison it will be treated rather briefly.

4.1 Conveying Englishness

In the new drama the intimacy between stage and audience continues though it is not so close as in the interludes. Playwrights still employ direct address in spite of the fact that the tendency towards more self-contained plays diminishes its use and increases that of soliloquies. As the latter are so numerous, and their function of conveying familiarity varies according to interpretation, the focus

here will be on direct address - defined in the previous chapter by the criteria of explicit reference to the spectators.

In the interludes - chiefly in those of the first half of the sixteenth century - Virtues, Vices, and other characters feel perfectly free to acknowledge the presence of the spectators either as a theatrical audience or potential fellow-characters. In the early Elizabethan drama, though it is still used by some serious characters, direct address gradually becomes the prerogative of low and minor characters in comical scenes.

Like their interlude-counterparts and that major character, the Vice, these characters may ask for room either for themselves, like Slipper in The Scottish History of James IV (III. 1. 54), or for others, like Vertumnus does for Solstitium in Surmer's Last Will and Testament (p. 158). They also address the audience with the familiar 'my masters' like the above-mentioned Slipper, Biondello in The Burbears (V. 9. 57), and Jenkin in George a Greene (I. 975). Strumbo in Lochrine even demands an answer to his greeting:

How do you maisters, how do you? how have you
scaped hanging this long time?
(II. 1598-9)

The longest and most striking direct address belongs in fact to Strumbo. It contains an account of his passion and the composition and reading aloud of an absurd letter (I. 3. 311-58). Another character who continually addresses the spectators is Will Summers, who acts as the master of ceremonies in Surmer's Last Will and Testament. Cunophilus, Pandora's servant in The Woman in the Moon, also keeps his rapport with the members of the audience by calling them 'good people' (III. 2. 208) and 'bretheren' (III. 2. 217).

As a final example of direct address one may cite Covetousness and Wrath, who, in Doctor Faustus, finish their speeches with a jesting application of them to the audience (SC. VI. 127 and 142-3).

A few serious characters are still found addressing their audiences for informative purposes. For example, in The Woman in the Moon, as the various deities assume control of the story, they explain the effect they will produce on Pandora (I. 1. 230-3; II. 1. 1-5; III. 1. 1-10; IV. 1. 4-10 and V. 1. 1-6). The same is done by Cupid, who informs the audience who he is and what he plans for the heroine of Gismond of Salerne (I. 1. 1-4 and I. 1. 61-8). And, Thomas Stukeley, stabbed to death, narrates the story of his life in a long speech (V. 1. 1324-72), relying on the excuse that he must pass the time:

Harke freindes, and with the story of my life
Let me beguile the torment of my death.
(The Battle of Alcazar, V. 1. 1326-7)

Occasionally serious characters of the new drama emulate their interlude counterparts, and preach directly to the audience. They either present themselves as models of behaviour like Margaret in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay when deciding to become a nun,

And for to wish all maids to learn of me,
To seek heaven's joy before earth's vanity.
(SC. XIV. 25-6)

or, like Zenocrate in I Tamburlaine, point out the example supplied by others,

Those that are proud of fickle empery
And place their chiefest good in earthly pomp,
Behold the Turk and his great emperess!
(V. 1. 350-2)

The aside meant for the audience, designed to establish a closer contact between characters and spectators, is just as common in the new drama as it is in the interludes. Marlowe and Shakespeare, particularly, can get effective results by building a scene on asides. In The Jew of Malta, Barabas's sinister asides when talking to Lodowick underline the former's treachery (II. 3. 49-85). Barabas keeps in continuous touch with the audience by crowding other scenes with his asides (IV. 3. and IV. 4). In II Henry VI, Dick Butcher's comments on Cade's speech in a series of asides reduce the latter to absurdity (IV. 2. 31-60).

Yet, the aside plus wordplay found in the interludes and characteristic of the Vice largely disappears with this character. The only example provided by the plays of the early Elizabethan drama is in Richard III, 'when Shakespeare recreated the Vice in a new context'.¹⁰⁴

Gloucester. /aside/ So wise, so young, they say, do
never live long.

Prince. What say you, uncle?

Gloucester. I say, without characters fame lives long.
/aside/ Thus, like the formal Vice, Iniquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word.
(III. 1. 79-83)

The new playwrights follow interlude-writers in capitalizing on the use of oaths for the sake of linguistic realism and to convey an idea of familiarity to the audience. Thus one finds a wide range, from mild oaths in Supposes (IV. 6. 17 and IV. 6. 24) to the more profane ones in Woodstock (II. 2. p. 197). But, unlike the interludes, the new drama does not join the moralists of the time in inveighing against the sinfulness of swearing. It is true that in The Wars of Cyrus Ctesiphon places swearers among a 'damned bloudie crow of ruffians, swearers, murderers and theeves' (II. 3. 553-4), and that Gloucester

in keeping with his pious role admonishes his confederate in

Richard III:

O, do not swear, my lord of Buckingham.
(III. 7. 219)

Apart from these instances, one only comes across Frank's complaint against Dick Coomes's use of language in The Two Angry Women of Abingdon:

Why what a swearing keepes this drunken asse,
Canst thou not say but sweare at every word?
(II. 422-3)

It is worth noticing that the author of Sir Thomas More censored all the swearing in the lines he borrowed from Lusty Juventus for the presentation of the interlude. In l. 1086 he omits the Vice's 'by God', keeping only 'I sweare' (Lusty Juventus, l. 790); when Juventus says 'yes, by the Mass, that I would' (l. 799), he changes the oath to 'in good sadnesse' (l. 1097), and, finally, he omits the hero's successive profane oaths to express his anger - 'by God's precious wounds' (l. 804), 'by God's precious blood' (l. 806), and 'by the blessed Mass' (l. 808) - shortening the whole speech to two harmless lines (ll. 1102-3). In expurgating his text of profanity, the playwright fails to suggest the idea - present in the interlude - of the hero's corrupt inner state. Yet, for all his care, Doll manages a most profane 'bir Lady flesh and blood' (l. 29).

Thus, unlike the employment of direct address and asides, which operate towards an approximation between stage and audience, the employment of oaths in the new tradition, lacking in didactic purpose, elicits a weaker response on the part of the spectators.

Proverbs are as popular with the new dramatists as they were with interlude-writers. Their frequent use in the developing tradition

attests to the fact that authors could make their spectators actively participant by appealing to their common background of popular wisdom.¹⁰⁵ These spectators could see aspects of their own experience projected on the stage either through commoners like Grime in George a Greene:

Yet I have heard it in a proverbe said,
He that is olde, and marries with a lasse,
Lies but at home, and prooves himselfe an asse.
(ll. 656-8)

or by kings like Edward in the same play:

Much have I heard since I came to my crowne,
Many in manner of a proverbe say,
Were he as good as G. a Green, I would strike him sure:
(ll. 842-4)

A character like Nicholas Proverbs in The Two Angry Women of Abingdon must have delighted the audience as much as he exasperated his fellow-characters since he used 'but every word a proverbe, no other English' (SC. III. 893):

O maister Philip forbeare, you must not leape over the stile
before you come at it, haste makes waste, softe fire makes
sweete malt, not too fast for falling, there's no hast to
hang true men.
(SC. III. 873-6)

Yet, in the same way that few serious characters preach directly to the audience, and oaths are no longer used with a view to their condemnation, proverbs cease to be employed 'to show good example'. Thus, the power of these linguistic devices to foster the audience's participatory experience is reduced.

If Englishness is less strongly conveyed in these devices because the blatant didacticism of the interludes is absent in the new drama, it is also, and for the same reason, less clearly conveyed

in the use of rustic dialect. This dialect is less frequently employed in this early phase of the Elizabethan drama than it was in the old tradition and on the few occasions when it appears it is used only for the sake of entertainment, without the moral purpose of the old tradition. One may come across sporadic dialectal forms such as 'chave' in The Arraignment of Paris (I. 2. 62); yet, a more sustained use of rustic speech is only practised by the comic characters Grinbal in I Promos and Cassandra (IV. 7. pp. 473-4 and V. 4. pp. 476-9), and by Oliver, in Locrine. In this play, the use of dialect is not consistently maintained: whereas Oliver expresses himself like this,

No by my dorth neighbor Strumbo, Ich zee that you are a
man of small zideration, dat wil zeek to injure your olde
vrendes, one of your vaniliar guests, and derefore zeeing
your pinion is to deale withouten reazon, iche and my zonne
William

(ll. 1156-60)

his neighbour Strumbo, his son William and his daughter Margery all speak standard English.

The conclusion which can be drawn from this brief discussion of the continuing use of the traditional linguistic devices to foster Englishness accords with the changes in the aesthetic principles and form of the new tradition. No longer restricted by didactic aims, and moving towards the cultivation of a more self-contained structure, this drama was bound to reduce its proximity to the audience and its world. Yet, there are gains as well as losses: if Englishness is no longer so powerfully conveyed, foreignness is brought in more often, and in a more sustained way than before.

4.2 Conveying Foreignness

As has been said, 'the Elizabethans relied on their poetry, for much that is nowadays left to the producer'.¹⁰⁶ In a theatre which did not possess representational scenery, and did not usually employ costume as a key to nationality, the burden of conveying foreignness was set entirely on the poet's imagination and its power to work upon the imagination of others. In some ways, these poets only develop the incipient techniques already practised by interlude-writers; yet, their great achievement - which represents a completely new departure - is their use of poetry to expand those techniques and to create new ones to conjure worlds other than their own.

Language can convey foreignness mainly through the delineation of character, the employment of foreign accents and tongues, and the establishment of settings. It must be repeated here that the new playwrights do not worry about foreignness unnecessarily; they only emphasize it, as one would expect, when it can be dramatically advantageous to them.

The device of merely announcing the nationality of a character is already found in the interludes, and is carried on by Creene in The Scottish History of James IV, in which he simply informs the audience that the murderer-to-be is a Frenchman (II. 2. 200). Yet, it is the sustained attempt to build up the foreignness of the character, and the various ways of doing it, which are practised by the new drama.

In Tamburlaine, Marlowe imprints the hero's exotic origin on the spectators' minds from the very beginning by having him addressed as 'paltry Scythian' (I. 1. 53), 'Scythian Tamburlaine' (I. 2. 152)

and 'Scythian shepherd' (I. 2. 155); and as his eloquence and his friends persuade Theridamas to join them, the latter calls them 'noble Scythians' (II. 2. 225). In Edward II, it is important to make the audience aware of the foreignness of the disrupter of the social harmony of the realm. Thus Mortimer establishes Gaveston's evil nature by calling him 'peevish Frenchman' (I. 2.7), and 'sly inveigling Frenchman' (I. 2.57). It is significant that Queen Isabella is labelled 'French strumpet' by her husband (I. 4. 145) even before she shows any signs of hypocrisy. Yet Marlowe keeps her nationality vividly before us by remarks like:

Look where the sister of the King of France
Sits wringing of her hands and beats her breast
(I. 4. 187-8)

Thy gentle queen, sole sister to Valois,
Complains that thou has left her all forlorn
(III.2. 171-2)

Even when seen in a sympathetic light, the mere fact of Isabella's French origin seems to prepare the spectators for her forthcoming duplicity.

In the Henry VI plays, Shakespeare accentuates Margaret's foreign wickedness by repeated references to her two nationalities. In part II, she is 'proud Frenchwoman' (I. 3. 140) and 'blood-bespotted Neapolitan' (V. 1. 117); in part III, she is 'she-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France' (I. 4. 111), 'false Frenchwoman' (I. 4. 149), and 'iron of Naples, hid with English gilt' (II. 2. 139).

Finally, as has already been remarked, Lyly, possibly for self-protection, set The Woman in The Moon in Utopia. And, he ensures that its royal audience does not forget about it by recurring allusions to

'our Utopian shepherds' (I. 1. 30), 'thy Utopians' (I. 1. 49), 'our Utopians' (I. 1. 59), and 'Utopian Queene' (I. 1. 192).

The new playwrights do not follow their predecessors in using foreign languages as a means of disguise for, except Barabas who tries to pass for a Frenchman, no other characters disguise themselves as foreigners in this early phase of the Elizabethan drama. Yet, the new tradition follows the old in employing foreign languages to establish the nationalities of certain characters. Thus the would-be assassin Pedro of The Wounds of Civil War (III. 2), and the drummer and the soldiers of The Famous Victories of Henry V (SC. XIII and XVII) betray their French origin whenever they speak. The Frenchman of The Scottish History of James IV mixes English, French and Italianized words (for example, III. 2. 36-8, 44-5, 88-90, 115-18 and 128-30). Yet, as he had been previously identified as a Frenchman (II. 2. 200), the audience would have no doubts about his nationality.

Apart from these examples, the early Elizabethan drama contains no other characters who consistently speak a foreign language. Occasionally, one finds scattered uses of modern, foreign tongues, apparently with no underlying principle governing their employment. For instance, in the Italian-Originated Fedele and Fortunio, Fedele receives a letter in Italian (II. 447-51); in Orlando Furioso, the hero utters a long passage in Italian (II. 1. 685-92), and in The Spanish Tragedy, which contains only one Spanish phrase (III. 4. 118), both Lorenzo (II. 1. 41 and III. 4. 87-8) and Hieronimo (III. 14. 168-9) speak Italian.

It is Marlowe who appears to use the foreign language device more consciously and imaginatively. The text of The Massacre at Paris

is strewn with French phrases - 'tue, tue, tue' (SC. VII. 1), 'vive le roi' (SC. XIV. 1), 'mort Dieu!' (SC. XV. 32), 'par la mort Dieu, il mourra' (SC. XVII. 28), and 'vive la messe!' (SC. XXII. 84) - which lend a foreign atmosphere to the action. In The Jew of Malta, Barabas says a few words in Spanish (II. 1. 39 and 63), swears in Italian (I. 2. 89 and IV. 1. 20) and speaks in French (VI. 4). This is not only in accordance with the well-travelled character (II. 3. 23 and II. 3. 179-87), but also with his adopted nationality, for 'the polyglot Maltese, descended from the Phoenicians, mixed in their Levantine melting pot with Italians and Spaniards'.¹⁰⁷

There is also the debatable question of the purpose of the use of the four different languages in which Hieronimo's playlet in The Spanish Tragedy would be performed. Both M.C. Bradbrook and Philip Edwards, the editor of the play, consider the polyglot performance unlikely.¹⁰⁸ Yet, S.F. Johnson has convincingly argued that the different languages are relevant to the theme of the play. Exploiting the analogy between Babylon and the Tower of Babel, he sees Hieronimo as the working instrument of the heavens engineering the 'fall of Babylon': 'but his Babylon is Babel indeed, for three of the four players go to their deaths in "unknown languages", which Hieronimo had assigned with due care for decorum'.¹⁰⁹ In the light of this argument it may be said that Kyd, like Marlowe, also expanded the use of the foreign language device.

It may therefore be concluded that the use of modern foreign languages, so common in the interludes, for some reason or other, is not often practised in the formative decades of the Elizabethan drama. This seems even more strange when one recalls that it is a favourite device in the drama after 1592,¹¹⁰ and only declines in the later period of Fletcher and Massinger.¹¹¹

It is worth noticing that, whereas in the interludes the use of foreign languages was coloured by xenophobia, the few examples collected in this early phase of the new tradition do not allow a precise generalization. One may say, however, that xenophobia is responsible for making the would-be murderers (Pedro and Jaques) and the enemy soldiers already mentioned express themselves in French. Another though brief example may be added: in Jack Straw, one of the rebels (Nob), tells a Fleming that if the latter cannot say 'bread and cheese' in good English he will die. The poor foreigner cannot get by with his 'brocke and keyse' (II. 5. 621).

Like the interludes, the new tradition makes extensive use of Latin. Both types of drama employ it as a vehicle for expressing edifying maxims, learned thoughts, and for the sake of amusement. Underlying all these uses is the idea of keeping the audience alert, provoked by the familiar sound of a language which, however, was only understood by a minority. Yet, unlike interlude-writers, who could also exploit the emotional expectations fostered by the long association between Latin and Catholicism, the new playwrights, unable to deal with religious matters, could only capitalize on the relationship between Latin and erudite and ethical matters. As a consequence, the great majority of their quotations - too many to be cited here - are invariably learned and/or moral. Mostly dramatists seem not to worry whether the citations will be understood, for they supply no translation. Perhaps they relied on the sheer magic of the foreign words for effect. It is only a few authors like Lyly - fond of scattering Latin sentences throughout the action of his comedies - who could be reasonably sure that the meaning of these would not be lost upon his select audience.

Only occasionally is the serious use of Latin employed for another purpose besides sententiousness. In such plays as Dido Queen of Carthage and The Wounds of Civil War it underlines the relevance of certain scenes. In the former play, it gives an effective touch to the final scene since Dido's last words before committing suicide are in Latin (V. I. 310-1 and 313). The same may be said about the latter play as Scilla's conversion is acted out in Latin - the genius speaks to Scilla and is answered in this language (V. 5. 301-12). It should also be added that in both plays the language is in keeping with the Roman background of the actions - distant in Dido Queen of Carthage but immediate in The Wounds of Civil War.

Finally, some new playwrights emulated interlude-writers by making some of their characters employ Latin for the sake of amusement: for instance, Captain Crackstone in Fedele and Fortunio (II. 1. 398-400 and 405-6), and Samias in Indimion (I. 3. 99). Nevertheless, the most interesting comic instance is that in which the author incorporates the strangeness of the language into the story. This happens in The Bugbears, when Trappola, the false magician, exorcizes imaginary spirits in 'Latin':

vos claudio in hoc circulo, constringo et vincio
vos arguo, increpo, obiurgo, iubeo, impero
et omnes deamoncs a Sathana vsqz ad Saraboth,
(III. 3. 118-20)

It should be remembered that, in the interludes, the use of Latin and modern foreign tongues was also a means of conveying Englishness through contemporaneity - the device being related to the expression of a comment on current Anglo-foreign affairs. In the new tradition, however, this idea of contemporaneity is removed, and the foreign

language device only conveys foreignness in varying degrees.

The new playwrights also used language as a means to direct the audience's imagination towards a non-native setting.¹¹² It has been said that 'the Elizabethan stage was a map of anywhere, and when a landscape was required, the poet was at hand to paint it'.¹¹³ This is essentially true, but it can only be accepted if one keeps two aspects of this drama in mind. First, Elizabethan poets in general did not believe either in local colour or in sustained illusion; this means that the 'landscape' would be dependent on the audience's willingness to respond to and retain its temporary imaginative appeal. Secondly, the effectiveness of this appeal, was very variable since not all playwrights shared the poetical power of a Lyly, a Greene, a Marlowe or a Shakespeare. It must be added, though, that lines which suffer from a close scrutiny in the study would possibly gain in effect if delivered on the stage by a talented actor.

It must be remarked that some interluders announced the foreign setting of their plays - for instance, Babylon in Susanna and Syracuse in Damon and Pithias - as Elizabethan players did. In The Wars of Cyrus, the character Dinon is made to say 'now are we at the bankes of Euphrates' (III. 3. 890), and in Midas, the king locates the action: 'This is Delphos' (V. 3. 1). Yet, the main difference between the old and the new forms is that in the latter, the setting is not often so bluntly stated. Owing to the expansion of their dramatic language, the new playwrights not only devise new ways of informing the audience of the place of the action but also convey a foreign atmosphere with their information.

Thus, in Cambaspe, the 'announcement of the setting' is naturally incorporated into the conversation, with Alexander saying,

.... sithence my comming from Thebes to Athens, from a
place of contest, to a pallace of quiet
(I. 3. 59-60)

Marlowe prefers the technique of locating the setting as an answer to a question: in Dido Queen of Carthage, Venus informs Aeneas,

But for the land whereof thou dost inquire,
It is the Punic kingdom, rich and strong,
Adjoining on Agenor's stately town,
The kingly seat of southern Libya,
Whereas Sidonian Dido rules as queen
(I. 2. 209-13)

And, in The Taming of a Shrew, Polydor's greetings to Aurelius not only convey the idea of setting but also paint a Greek scene:

Welcome to Athens my beloved friend,
To Platoes schooles and Aristotles walkes,
Welcome from Cestus farious for the love
of good Leander and his Tragedie,
For whom the Hellespont weepes brinish leaves
(SC.III. 15)

The effectiveness of the new playwrights' poetic language to guide the spectators' imagination to a foreign place can be illustrated by a passage in I Tamburlaine. Though the play is famous for the amplitude of its setting mainly suggested by the catalogues of kingdoms cited - see, for example, part I for the titles Cosroe is crowned with (I. 1. 160-8), and part II for the places that Tamburlaine and his friends have conquered (II. 1. 173-217 and V. 3. 126-42) - Marlowe succeeds in the beginning of the play in focussing the attention on Persepolis, even before events actually occur there. This is done by means of anticipatory allusions to 'fair Persepolis' (II. 5.24 and 40)

and by the triple repetition of the famous line 'And ride in triumph through Persepolis' (II. 5. 49, 50 and 54).

Apart from conveying foreignness through characterization, foreign tongues and setting, the new dramatic language could also convey it by bringing different parts of the world to impinge upon the native scene. This is a common device, and one example will suffice to illustrate it. In Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, Bacon invites the English King and the German emperor to dinner, promising them:

.... rich Alexandria drugs,
Fetched by carvels from Egypt's richest straits,
Found in the wealthy strond of Africa,
Shall royalize the table of my king.
Wines richer than the Gyptian courtesan
Quaffed to Augustus' kingly counter-match
Shall be caroused in English Henry's feasts;
Candy shall yield the richest of her canes;
Persia, down her Volga by canoes
Send down the secrets of her spicery;
The Afric dates, myrobalans of Spain,
Conserves and suckets from Tiberias,
Cates from Judea, choicer than the lamp
That fired Rome with sparks of gluttony,
Shall beautify the board for Frederick;
(SQ. IX. 249-63)

The idea of foreignness, as we have seen, is related to the idea of expansion, just as the language of the new dramatists expanded not only in the rhetorical sense of copiousness, but also in the development of new functions and the acquisition of new means of expression. Another contributory factor to this expansion may now be added: the breadth of poetic allusions, similes and imagery inspired by foreignness. The impact of the voyages on the language of the Elizabethan drama has been thoroughly acknowledged,¹¹⁴ and the period under discussion is no exception. There is also the impact of foreign literature suggesting legends and myths, characters and places, for the dramatists to draw upon.

This expansion of the language due to foreignness leads to another characteristic already observed: the frequent alternation, in these early plays of the Elizabethan period, between Englishness and foreignness. This can be seen, for example, in the lines from Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay cited above; though the play is an English historical romance, the series of allusions to international delicacies, plus the final simile, are an appeal to the audience to visualize the intrusion of foreignness into the native world of the play.

The idea of foreignness in the Elizabethan drama, then, is almost entirely dependent on the language, and sustained according to the playwright's ability and dramatic necessities. Yet, it should be remembered that the very instrument which produces foreignness may destroy it with anachronistic references.

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It is now possible to assess the importance of the idea of foreignness for the new tradition. In the interludes it was not significant because the utilitarian view of art held by their authors oriented them towards things English. The new drama, however, welcomes the opportunity of expansion.

Thus, playwrights are able not only to hold a 'looking-glass for England' from a new angle, but also to hold a 'mirror up to nature'; to make indirect comments on contemporary life, and pay compliments to their sovereign; to feed the public's romantic imagination, and to cater for its interest in contemporary international events. They expand their gallery of characters by bringing them from all over the world; some of these dramatists even transcend the narrow boundaries of xenophobia and project a new open-mindedness

towards foreigners on the stage. The characters are set in different and strange localities, and the language itself is enriched by making use of the enormous foreign material at its disposal to weave the fabric of the poetic texture.

The idea of foreignness also contributes to fostering new dramatic situations. One sees playwrights capitalizing on the thematic opposition between countries or rivalry between characters. The foreigner is placed in a situation in which he (deliberately) or she (deliberately or unwittingly) is responsible for the breakdown of social order or the destruction of individuals. The new dramatists also exploit the potentialities of using one foreign setting which evokes powerful associations; they juxtapose two different settings or select one for a brief but significant incursion of the action; they employ several settings to create the impression of amplitude.

The third major contribution of the idea of foreignness to this new drama is the tension established by the superimposition of foreign stories, people, places and things on English reality. This tension - allowed by the conventions of the popular theatre - though already present in the old drama, is rather more fully exploited by the new owing to the increase of foreign elements. Thus, on the one side, there are a didactic view of art, the long tradition of Englishness created by the interludes, the bare stage, the open daylight, the audience impinging on the apron stage, the actors' possibility of stepping in and out of character, and the anachronism of word and costume. On the other side, there are a non-didactic conception of art, possible additions to contemporary costume, a few attempts at make-up, the actor's ability to mimic a foreign accent or speak a foreign tongue, the poetic language and the audience's imagination.

Considering that the more powerful elements lie on the former side, it is not surprising to see Englishness ultimately victorious; what is surprising, however, is that foreignness could so often hold its own.

Finally, the investigation of the present chapter leads to the suggestion that, owing to the contribution of the idea of foreignness, the new tradition expands in all directions, succeeding in breaking away from the restrictive one-sidedness of the interludes while remaining loyal to its own popular roots and truly national. Thus, it is possible to say that the idea of foreignness made the Elizabethan drama - to borrow Lyly's images - 'like arras, full of device; which was broadcloth, full of workmanship'.

Notes to Chapter V

1. The duration of the interlude as an independent dramatic form is open to discussion, though the accepted view is that it lost its recognizable existence after 1590. For an illuminating article exploring the possibilities of the continuation of the form in the seventeenth century, see Alan C. Dessen, 'The Morall as an Elizabethan Dramatic Kind: An Exploratory Essay', Comparative Drama, 5 (1971), 138-59.
2. The first doubtful case is that of Hieronimo. Andrew S. Cairncross, the editor of The First Part of Hieronimo and The Spanish Tragedy (London, 1967), pp. xii-xix, suggests that the play is a memorial version of a longer text by Kyd - The Spanish Comedy - which preceded The Spanish Tragedy, and combined with it to form a two-part play. On the other hand, Philip Edwards, the editor of The Spanish Tragedy for the Revels series (first published, 1959; reprinted, Manchester 1977), p. 138, is convinced that The First Part of Hieronimo 'is clearly written after The Spanish Tragedy and based on it, and almost certainly intended as a burlesque'. His views are corroborated by John Reibetanz, 'Hieronimo in Decimosexto : a Private-Theater Burlesque', Renaissance Drama, n.s., 5 (1972), 89-121, who also proposes that Hieronimo was written between 1599-1600. Considering that the stronger evidence lies on the side of the later date - outside the scope of this thesis - this play has not been treated. The other doubtful case is that of The Book of Sir Thomas More. Harbage and Schoenbaum suggest the date of 1595; yet, I.A. Shapiro, 'The Significance of a Date', Shakespeare Survey, 8 (1955), 100-105 (p. 102), persuasively argues that Sir Thomas More should be dated not later than 1591, and possibly earlier. On the basis of his argument, the play has been included in this study. As to the presence of three plays dated 1593 - The Woman in the Moon, Richard III and perhaps Massacre at Paris - of which the date is in any case a matter of dispute - the criterion has been the mere convenience of referring to both the Marlovian and Lylian canons without having to mention exceptions, and of treating Shakespeare's first historical tetralogy as a whole.
3. The England of Elizabeth (first published, 1950; reprinted, London, 1973), p. 35; see also by the same author, The Expansion of Elizabethan England (first published, 1955; reprinted, London, 1973).
4. Thomas Metscher, 'Shakespeare in the Context of Renaissance Europe', Science and Society, 41 (1977), 17-24 (p. 19).
5. Madeleine Doran, Endeavors of Art (first published, 1954; reprinted, Madison and London, 1972), p. 6.
6. Stephen Gosson, Plays Confuted in Five Actions (London, n.d. [c. 1582-7]), sig. D5 v.
7. R.R. Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (Boston and London, 1938), p. 1.
8. G.K. Hunter, 'Elizabethans and Foreigners', Shakespeare Survey, 17 (1964), 37-52 and 245-9 (pp. 39-40).

9. Cawley says that, after 1600, descriptions in plays of foreign countries become more accurate. See Voyagers, p. 2.
10. Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 139.
11. William Poel and the Elizabethan Revival (London, 1954), p. 78.
12. Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition (London, 1944), p. 29.
13. Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition, pp. 27-8.
14. Considering I & II The Troublesome Reign of King John, I & II Promos and Cassandra, and Gismund of Salerne and its revised text Tancred and Gismund as one play each, there are fifty-six extant plays (excluding the interludes) from the period between 1564 and 1592. Of these, fifteen have their settings entirely in England, twelve mix English and foreign settings, and twenty-nine are set in foreign places. See also the list of plays presented at court during the period 1570-1585, most of which are lost, in James Brawner's preface to his edition of The Warr of Cyrus, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 28, Nos. 3 & 4 (Urbana, 1942), pp. 64-6.
15. 'The Dramatic Function of Anachronism', Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society, 6, pt. 8 (1951), 529-33 (p. 529).
16. See introduction to Chapter I.
17. 'Tis no play neither, but a show', (p. 148), says Will Surmers. For a reading of the play as a pageant, see C.L. Barber, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy (first published, 1959; reprinted, Princeton, 1972), Chapter 4.
18. M.C. Bradbrook, Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy (first published, 1955; reprinted, London, 1973), p. 75 and p. 76.
19. Endeavors of Art, p. 97.
20. Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions (first published, 1952; reprinted, Bloomington and London, 1970), p. 59.
21. Harbage, pp. 77-9.
22. Les Ombres collectives, revised edition (Paris, 1973), p. 170.
23. Tudor Drama and Politics (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 301.
24. Les Ombres collectives. Sociologie du théâtre, pp. 167-228. According to Duvignaud, 'Les sociétés élisabéthaines subissaient le passage du monde traditionnel au monde moderne. A travers les couches et les plans superposés à la réalité sociale tout entière, refractée, à travers les croyances et les ideologies, les mentalités et les aspirations confuses ou contradictoires, la figure imaginaire proposée par le théâtre est l'image du courage humain qui affronte, même dans le crime, les emotions nouvelles' (p. 227).
25. Endeavors of Art, p. 113.

26. Preface to his edition of Woodstock (London, 1946), pp. 6-10; The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, revised edition (London, 1965), pp. 30-64; see also by Ribner, 'Morality Roots of the Tudor History Play', Tulane Studies in English, 4, (1954), 21-43.
27. The preoccupation with the present is not a characteristic exclusively of the Elizabethan history plays. As Herbert Lindenger, Historical Drama (Chicago and London, 1975), p. 5, says, 'it has long been a commonplace that historical plays are at least as much a comment on the playwright's own times as on the periods about which they are ostensibly written'. And he also adds that 'the continuity between past and present is a central assertion in history plays of all times and styles' (p. 6).
28. Ribner, The English History Play, p. 70, says that the play does not further any serious historical aims, but he recognises that 'the one historical purpose that the play does serve is the patriotic one'.
29. Clifford Leech, 'The Dramatist's Independence', Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama, 10 (1967), 17-23 (p. 18).
30. The idea of the history play as a mirror for both the people and the prince is thus presented by Thomas Heywood, An Apology for Actors (London, 1612), sig. B4r: 'What coward to see his countryman valiant would not bee ashamed of his owne cowardise? What English Prince should hee behold the true portrature of that famous King Edward the third, foraging France,, and would not bee suddenly inflam'd with so royall a spectacle, being made apt and fit for the like atchievement'.
31. Ribner, The English History Play, p. 8.
32. Of all the plays dealt with in this section - The Famous Victories of Henry V (1586), The Misfortunes of Arthur (1500), I & II The Troublesome Reign of King John (1503), Edward III (1590), Jack Straw (1591), Edward I (1591), Lochrine (1591), The True Tragedy of Richard III (1591), The Booke of Sir Thomas More (c. 1591?), II & III Henry VI (1591), I Henry VI (1592), Edward II (1592), Woodstock (1592) and Richard III (1593) - only The Famous Victories of Henry V cannot be considered didactic.
33. See Appendix A in H.H. Adams, English Domestic or, Homiletic Tragedy: 1575-1642 (New York, 1943), pp. 193-205 for a list of lost domestic tragedies. Three known lost plays, all anonymous, are contemporary with the late interludes: The Cruelty of a Stepmother (1578), Murderous Michael (1578/9), and The History of Friar Francis (according to Adams, it should be dated before 1590; Harbage and Schoenbaum propose c. 1580-1594). For another list of lost plays (comedies as well) see Appendix C in Andrew Clark, Domestic Drama, 2 vols. (Salzburg, 1975), II, 417-35.
34. Keith Sturges, in the introduction to his edition of Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies (Harmondsworth, 1969), pp. 15-16.
35. Clark, Domestic Drama, I, 19.
36. English Domestic or, Homiletic Tragedy, p. 74.

37. Endeavors of Art, p. 143.
38. Introduction to Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies, pp. 10-13.
39. Arden of Faversham (London, 1973), p. lx.
40. M.L. Wine, Arden, p. lxxiii.
41. Bevington, Tudor Drama, p. 222 : 'Greene disavows any affront to English ladies at the court by using only Spanish women as explicit foils to Margaret'.
42. Ribner, The English History Play, p. 247.
43. Anne Begor Lancashire, in the introduction to her edition of the plays Gallathea and Midas (London, 1970), p. xviii.
44. The Go-Between (first published, 1953; reprinted, Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 7.
45. An Apology for Actors (London, 1612), sig. F3v.
46. The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy (first published, 1893; reprinted, Hamden, Connecticut, 1965), p. 15. According to Cunliffe, Seneca did not write from a narrow, national viewpoint, from within a purely local religious system, as the Greek playwrights did. He wrote from an international viewpoint, since his cultural background reflected a mixture of varied races and creeds. For he lived in the centre of the Roman empire, and during the age of Nero, which, may be regarded as the climax of a cosmopolitan tendency in Roman literature: 'there was no national life at Rome in the time of Nero, hardly a national literature, no national drama' (p. 15).
47. Italian Tragedy in the Renaissance (Urbana, 1965), p. 116.
48. The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Oxford, 1956), p. 271.
49. According to Madeleine Doran, Endeavors of Art, p. 127, Jocasta, 'with the theme of ambition centered in civil war, was clearly thought by Elizabethans to have a special relevance to their times'. Nevertheless, one is led to agree with F.P. Wilson, The English Drama: 1485-1585, edited with a bibliography by G.K. Hunter (Oxford, 1969), p. 137, when he says that 'whereas the main emphasis in Gorboduc is topical and political, here it is moral', and that only in the epilogue added by Christopher Yelverton does the moral become more political.
50. According to Wilson, p. 136, 'when Dolce omits, he omits passages and allusions unintelligible to a sixteenth-century audience: where he adds, and he adds freely, he adds moralizing passages often suggested by his favourite author Seneca'.
51. Wilson, p. 137.
52. See Fredson Bowers, Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy: 1587-1642 (Princeton, 1940), pp. 3-40, for the idea that the legal condemnation of private revenge was preceded by the denunciations of the clerics and moralists.

53. For a summary of modern critical response to Marlowe's morality in particular, and the complexity of his work in general, see Clifford Leech's introduction to his edition of Marlowe, A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, 1964), pp. 1-11.
54. Jeffere's The Bugbears is an adaptation of Grazzini's La Spiritata; Gascoigne's Supposes is a translation of Ariosto's I Suppositi, and Anthony Munday is the possible translator of Pasqualigo's II Fedele, rendered into English as Fedele and Fortunio, the Two Italian Gentlemen.
55. Wilson, p. 115.
56. Elkin C. Wilson, England's Eliza (first published, 1939; reprinted, London, 1966), p. 101.
57. J.L. Styan, Drama, Stage and Audience (London, 1975), p. 185.
58. Clifford Leech, 'The Function of Locality in the Plays of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries', in The Elizabethan Theatre, I, edited by David Galloway (Ontario, 1969), pp. 103-16.
59. Geoffrey Bullough, Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, 8 vols (London, 1957-1975), I. 60, sees no particular reason for the change of settings in A Shrew and The Shrew: 'why the change was made is doubtful, but in A Shrew most of the characters had Italian names, and this may have weighed with Shakespeare, as well as his debt to Gascoigne's Supposes set in Italy'. Clifford Leech, on the other hand, believes that in The Comedy of Errors, Shakespeare's change of setting was very precisely motivated. The city of Epidamnum of his source would have meant nothing to his audience; the change to Ephesus which was well-known for the prevalence of witchcraft and other curious arts would thus provide the right setting for fantastic events to take place. See: 'Ephesus, Troy, Athens' in Stratford Papers on Shakespeare (Toronto, 1964), pp. 151-69.
60. See Stanley Wells's introduction to his edition of Thomas Nashe: Selected Writings (London, 1964), pp. 9-11.
61. Bevington, Tudor Drama, p. 86.
62. References to Rochester: III. 4.89-90; IV. 1. 19; IV. 2. 14; IV. 2. 188; IV. 2. 213; V. 3. 2; and V. 3. 81. References to Kent: II. 5. 49 and III. 4. 6.
63. Leech, 'Ephesus, Troy, Athens', p. 158.
64. See, for example, II. 1. 75, 78 and 81; IV. 4. 45-6; IV. 6. 3; and IV. 7. 25.
65. M.M. Mahood, 'The Jew of Malta: a Contracted World', in Critics on Marlowe, edited by Judith O'Neill (Florida, 1970), pp. 44-9.
66. 'The Theology of Marlowe's The Jew of Malta', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 27 (1964), 211-40 (p. 229).
67. Hunter, 'Elizabethans and Foreigners', p. 41.

68. It is assumed that the scenes showing Faustus at the papal palace, the imperial German palace, and Vanholt are integral to the play. This view is in accordance with G.K. Hunter, 'Five-Act Structure in Doctor Faustus,' Tulane Drama Review, 8 (1964), 77-91, and Michael Hattaway, 'The Theology of Marlowe's Doctor Faustus,' Renaissance Drama, n.s. 3 (1970), 51-78. The editor of the Revels edition of the play, however, believes that these scenes were the contribution of another author, and constitute a 'major inconsistency' (see introduction, p. xlii).
69. John D. Jump, introduction to Doctor Faustus, p. xxxviii.
70. An Apology for Poetry, edited by Geoffrey Shepherd, second edition (Manchester, 1977), p. 134.
71. Feeling and Form (London, 1953), pp. 313-4.
72. William Poel and the Elizabethan Revival (London, 1954) p. 78.
73. Sir Philip Sidney, commenting on the practice of the English stage, complains that 'all their plays be neither right tragedies, nor right comedies, mingling kings and clowns, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in clowns by head and shoulders, to play a part in majestical matters, with neither decency nor discretion'. (An Apology for Poetry, p. 135). George Whetstone, in his 'epistle dedicatorie' to Promos and Cassandra, voices a similar complaint: 'manye times (to make mirthe) they make a Clowne companion with a Kinge: in theyr grave Counsels, they allow the advise of fooles'.
74. Le Gout public et le théâtre élisabéthain (Dijon, 1922), p. 107.
75. Introduction to Dramatic Theory (London, 1923), p. 178.
76. Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy, p. 15.
77. Prefaces to Shakespeare, second series (first published, 1930; reprinted, London, 1944), p. 167.
78. Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition (London, 1944), p. 44.
79. Hunter, 'Elizabethans and Foreigners', pp. 51-2.
80. For example, Enid Welsford, The Fool. His Social and Literary History (London, 1935), p. 282 asserts that 'it seems clear that the Vice of the interludes developed into the Elizabethan stage clown'. Bethell, p. 27, also believes that 'the Vice of the moralities was the forerunner of the Shakespearean clown'. Yet, William Willeford, The Fool and His Sceptre (London, 1969), pp. 123-8, argues that this development is not at all clear. According to Robert Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, edited by Robert Schwartz (Baltimore and London, 1969), p. 11, none of the famous fools and clowns of the theatres of different countries has a 'pure' genealogy: 'Shakespeare's fool in particular is a rich hybrid in which the court fool, the Vice of the morality plays, the genius of Dick Tarlton, and individual elements in Shakespeare's troupe merged with countless other elements of clowning and popular entertainment'.
81. Doran, Endeavors of Art, pp. 116-17.

82. See C.V. Boyer, The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy (first published, 1914; reprinted, New York, 1964), pp. 1-39.
83. See note 24.
84. Duvignaud, Les Ombres collectives, pp. 207-10.
85. For example, Italy became either an idyllic country of refinement and romance in some Shakespearean comedies (The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Taming of the Shrew, and The Merchant of Venice) or the 'academy of manslaughter' in some of the plays by Marston, Tourneur, Middleton, and Webster. See Mario Praz, 'Shakespeare's Italy', Shakespeare Survey, 7 (1954), 95-106; for Ben Jonson's preferences see, by the same author, The Flaming Heart (Gloucester, Mass., 1966), pp. 168-85. Shakespeare himself could oscillate in the depiction of his Greeks: they are either the charming characters of the early The Comedy of Errors and A Midsummer Night's Dream, and the good protagonist of Pericles or the dissolute figures of Troilus and Cressida and Timon of Athens. See T.J.B. Spencer, "Greeks" and "Merrygreeks": A Background to Timon of Athens and Troilus and Cressida, in Essays on Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama: In Honor of Hardin Craig (Columbia, 1962), pp. 223-33. For the continuation of the subject, exploiting the idea that there was no simple exposure of decadent Greeks in the above-mentioned plays, see Clifford Leech, 'Shakespeare's Greeks' in Stratford Papers on Shakespeare (Toronto, 1964), pp. 1-19.
86. Cavley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama, pp. 1-2.
87. Doran, pp. 217-18.
88. Second edition (London, 1560), fol. 91 r & v.
89. For example, Anthony's disguise as a Frenchman, Monsieur La Houche, in Englishmen for My Money (1598), Lacy's disguise as Hans, a Dutch shoemaker, in The Shoemaker's Holiday (1599), and Luce's disguise as the Dutch servant-girl Tanikin in The London Prodigal (1604).
90. In Friar Bacon and Friar Buncay she is 'lovely Eleanor' (SC. IV. 9), 'rich nature's glory' and 'fair of all fairs' (SC. IX. 187-8), and Greene gives her speeches which indicate her amiableness and gentle disposition (SC. IX. 21-30 and SC. XVI. 25-32). Her beauty is again alluded to in Edward II when the King is described as 'son to the lovely Eleanor of Spain' (III. 2. 11).
91. According to Frank S. Hook, the editor of the play (New Haven and London, 1961), the Queen's double portrait may be due to the existence of two ballads, one referring to Elinor herself, the other attacking Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry II's wife. He says that, 'in the inconsistent characterization of Elinor, some unusual stage directions, the obvious omission of scenes, and the failure to integrate the plot of the Queen's pride and its consequences with the rest of the play, there is evidence to show that the extant text is a revision of an earlier version of the play which did not include the accidents based upon the two ballads'. (pp. 23-4).

92. Anne Begor Lancashire, in the introduction to her edition of Gallathea and Midas, p. xxvii, says: 'Midas is tempted by Military Power, Lust, and Avarice, who debate their own relative merits; and the play is concerned with the results of Midas's foolish choices, and his ultimate repentance'.
93. Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, p. 189. It is significant that, in Endimion, Cynthia invites the foreign philosophers to reside at her court, promising them:
- you shall be entertained, according to your
deserts; for Cynthia is no stepmother to strangers.
(V. 3. 287-9)
94. Bevington, p. 203.
95. Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, pp. 144-50.
96. See B. Black, The Book of Sir Thomas More. A Critical Edition (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1953), p. 371.
97. It is significant that Addition II has been ascribed to Shakespeare: 'the entire problem has been surveyed by R.C. Bald, who concludes that the lines in question were certainly written by Shakespeare, and this has come to be the dominant opinion among present-day students of the subject'. (Ribner, The English History Play, p. 210).
98. 'Elizabethans and Foreigners', p. 48.
99. 'Elizabethans and Foreigners', p. 47.
100. According to David Bevington, From 'Mankind' to Marlowe (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 231, 'these Christians on Malta are Roman Catholics, and Catholics frequently appeared on the Elizabethan stage as villains. Nevertheless, the portrayal of them as evil results in moral confusion.... since they cannot justly provide a virtuous foil for Barabas' villainy'. Yet, as Hunter persuasively argues in 'Elizabethans and Foreigners', the differences between Catholics and Protestants would be erased in face of their common enemy: the non-Christians.
101. This eloquence was also expressed through the characters' looks. For example, Mortimer warns Lightborn against Edward II:

But at his looks, Lightborn thou wilt relent.
(Edward II, V. 4. 26)

and the same warning is given by Lapole to Woodstock's two murderers:

Believe me sirs, his countenance is such,
So full of dread and lordly majesty,
Mixed with such mild and gentle haviour
As will (except you be resolved at full)
Strike you with fear even with his princely looks.
(Woodstock, V. 1. p. 242).

102. Doran, p. 145. The idea of decorum is a preoccupation of the author of Fedele and Fortunio as stated in the prologue before the Queen.

.... he usde no thundering wordes of state:
But clipt his winges, to keepe a meaner gate.
(ll. 7-8)

103. Maynard Mack 'Engagement and Detachment in Shakespeare's Plays, in Essays on Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama: In Honor of Hardin Craig, edited by Richard Hosley (Columbia, 1962), pp. 275-96 (p. 277).
104. Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater, p. 149.
105. Morris P. Tilley, Elizabethan Proverb Lore (New York, 1926), p. 39, says that the decline of the popularity of proverbs in England seems to have started only in the last years of the seventeenth century. r/
106. Bethell, p. 32.
107. Harry Levin, The Overreacher. A Study of Christopher Marlowe (London, 1954), p. 85.
108. Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy, p. 84; introduction to The Spanish Tragedy (London, 1977), pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.
109. 'The Spanish Tragedy, or Babylon Revisited', in Essays in Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama: In Honor of Hardin Craig, edited by Richard Hosley (Columbia, 1962), pp. 23-36 (p. 27).
110. I.C. Mitchell, The Idea of Language in English Drama: 1590-1642 (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1976), p. 38.
111. Bradbrook, p. 84.
112. This does not mean that language is not used to locate the action in England. For example, in Gallathea, one comes across the following line: 'you are now in Lincolnshire' (I. 4. 12), and Lyly's efforts to place the action of Mother Bombe in Rochester have already been alluded to. Also, the typically English atmosphere of plays like The Two Angry Women of Abingdon and Arden of Faversham, is mainly conveyed by language.
113. Speaight, William Poel and the Elizabethan Revival, p. 78.
114. Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I Primary Sources

These are separate lists of all the interludes (including fragments) and Elizabethan plays used in the preparation of this thesis. The arrangement is alphabetical according to the titles of the plays. Collections from which only one play has been used are described with the entry for the work in question. Abbreviations are used for other collections or for complete works.

(a) Interludes

Abbreviations used in this list are as follows :

Bale, Dramatic Writings, The Dramatic Writings of John Bale,
edited by J. S. Farmer (London, 1907)

Boas. Five Pre-Shakespearean Comedies, edited by T. S. Boas F.
(first published, 1934; reprinted, London, 1961)

Dodsley. A Selection of Old English Plays, edited by
Robert Dodsley, fourth edition revised by W. Carew Hazlitt, 15
vols (London, 1874-1876)

Farmer. Anonymous Plays, edited by J. S. Farmer, first,
second, third and fourth series (London, 1905-1908)

Farmer, 'Lost' Plays, 'Lost' Tudor Plays, edited by J. S.
Farmer (London, 1907)

Heywood, Dramatic Writings, The Dramatic Writings of John
Heywood, edited by J. S. Farmer (London, 1909)

Schell and Shuchter. English Marolity Plays and Moral
Interludes, edited by Edgar T. Schell and J. D. Shuchter (New York, 1969)

Somerset. Four Tudor Interludes, edited by J. A. B.
Somerset (London, 1974)

Wickham. English Moral Interludes, edited by Glynne
Wickham (London, 1976)

Albion Knight (fragment, anonymous) edited by W. W. Greg for the
Malone Society Collections, I,iii (1909)

All for Money (Thomas Lupton), Schell and Shuchter

Appius and Virginia (R.B.), Farmer, IV

Calisto and Melibea (anonymous), Farmer, I

Cambises (Thomas Preston), Dodsley, IV

Castle of Perseverance, The (anonymous), Schell and Shuchter

Christ's Resurrection or The Resurrection of Our Lord (fragment, anonymous), edited by Bertram Dobell, W. W. Greg and J. Dover Wilson for the Malone Society (1912)

Clyomon and Clamydes (anonymous), edited by Betty J. Littleton (The Hague, 1968)

Cobbler's Prophecy, The (Robert Wilson), edited by W. W. Greg and A. C. Wood for the Malone Society (1914)

Common Conditions (anonymous), Farmer, IV

Conflict of Conscience, The (Nathaniel Woodes), Schell and Shuchter

Contention between Liberality and Prodigality, The (anonymous), edited by W. W. Greg for the Malone Society (1913)

Cruel Debtor, The (fragment, anonymous), Malone Society Collections, I, iv and v (1911)

Damon and Pithias (Richard Edwardes), Dodsley, IV

Disobedient Child, The (Thomas Ingelend), Dodsley, II

Enough Is as Good as a Feast (W. Wager), edited by Mark R. Benbow (London, 1968)

Everyman (anonymous), Schell and Shuchter

Four Cardinal Virtues, The (fragment, anonymous) Malone Society Collections, IV (1956)

Four Elements, The (John Rastell), Dodsley, I

Four PP, The (John Heywood), Boas

Fulgens and Lucres (Hendry Medwall), Wickham

Gammer Gurton's Needle ('Mr. S. Mr. of Art'), Boas

Gentleness and Nobility (anonymous), edited by A. C. Partridge and F. P. Wilson for the Malone Society (1950 for 1949)

Glass of Government, The (George Gascoigne), Complete Works, edited by J. W. Cunliffe, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1910), II.

Godley Queen Hester (anonymous), Farmer, II

God's Promises, Bale, Dramatic Writings

Gorboduc or Ferrex and Porrex (Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton), edited by Irby B. Cauthen, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (London, 1970)

Hickscorner (anonymous), Farmer, I

Horestes (John Pickering), edited by Arthur Brown and Daniel Seltzer for the Malone Society (1952)

Impatient Poverty (anonymous), Farmer, 'Lost' Plays

Jack Juggler (anonymous), Farmer, II

Jacob and Lsaw (anonymous), Dodsley, II

John the Baptist, Bale, Dramatic Writings

John the Evangelist (anonymous), Farmer, 'Lost' Plays

Johan Johan the Husband (John Heywood), edited by G. R. Proudfoot for the Malone Society (1972 for 1967)

King Darius (anonymous), Farmer, III

King John (John Bale), Elizabethan History Plays, edited by William A. Armstrong (London, 1965)

Knack to Know a Knave, A (anonymous), Dodsley, VI

Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene, The (Lewis Wager), edited by F. I. Carpenter (Chicago, 1904)

Like Will to Like (Ulpian Fulwell), Somerset

Longer Thou Livest, The (W. Wager), edited by Mark R. Benbow (London, 1968)

Looking-Glass for London and England, A (Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene), The Plays and Poens of Robert Greene, edited by J. Churton Collins 2 vols. (Oxford, 1905)

Love Feigned and Unfeigned (fragment, anonymous), Malone Society Collections, I (1907)

Lusty Juventus (R. Wever), Somerset

Magnificence (John Skelton), edited by R. L. Ramsay for the Early English Text Society, Extra Series (first published, 1908; reprinted, London, 1958)

Mankind (anonymous), Wickham

Marriage of Wit and Science, The (anonymous), Dodsley, II

Marriage between Wit and Wisdom, The (Francis Merbury), Wickham

Misogonus (anonymous), Early Plays from the Italian, edited by R. Warwick Bond (first published, 1911; reprinted, New York, n.d.)

Nature (Henry Medwall), Farmer, 'Lost' Plays

New Custom (anonymous), Farmer, II

Nice Wanton (anonymous), Wickham

Old Christmas or Good Order (fragment, anonymous) Malone Society Collections, iv (1956)

Pardoner and The Friar, The, Heywood, Dramatic Writings

Patient Grissell (John Philip), edited by W. W. Greg and R. B. McKerrow for the Malone Society (1909)

Pedlar's Prophecy, The (anonymous), edited by W. W. Greg for the Malone Society, (1914)

Play of Love, A (John Heywood), Somerset

Play of the Weather, The, Heywood, Dramatic Writings

Pride of Life, The (fragment, anonymous), Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, edited by Norman Davis for the Early English Text Society (Oxford, 1970)

Prodigal Son, The (fragment, anonymous), Malone Society Collections, I (1907)

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III Special Bibliographical Note

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The Pride of Life

The Castle of Perseverance (extract)

Wisdom (extract)

Mankind (extract)

Everyman

Fulgens and Lucrez

The World and the Child (extract)

Hickscorner (extract)

Magnificence

Calisto and Melibea

Johan Johan the Husband

The Play of the Weather

Nice Wanton

King John

Jacob and Esau

Ralph Roister Doister

Gammer Gurton's Needle